FACTS ON FILE

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WORLD NEWS DIGEST WITH INDEX

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WORLD AFFAIRS

Berlin

Air Access Debated. The USSR charged in nearly identical notes to the U.S., British and French embassies in Moscow Aug. 23 that the 3 Western powers were abusing their air access to West Berlin by flying "revanchists, extremists, saboteurs and spies" and West German officials and politicians to West Berlin for "provocations" and "subversive activity" against East Germany "and other Socialist countries." The notes demanded that the Western powers end such "unlawful and provocative activities" of West Germany in Berlin.

The 3 Western powers Aug. 26 rejected the Soviet allegations as "false" and, in virtually identical notes delivered in Moscow, warned that "interference by the Soviet government or its East German régime with free access to Berlin would have the most serious consequences for which it would bear full responsibility."

The Soviet notes of Aug. 23 charged that the Western use of air access to Berlin "represents a flagrant breach of the [1945] agreement . . . under which . . . air corridors were set aside for the 3 Western powers, on a temporary basis, to ensure the needs of their military garrisons. . . ."

The Soviet notes said: Despite USSR complaints to the Western powers, "the unlawful and impermissible intervention by the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) in the affairs of West Berlin . . . has of late been sharply stepped up, especially in connection with the proposal for an immediate peace settlement with Germany and the solution of the West Berlin problem on this basis"; West German leaders "of late appear in West Berlin almost daily"; "right from the airport [they] go on demonstrative 'inspection' trips through the city, make provocative, hostile statements against the GDR [German Democratic Republic] and the Soviet Union"; this was part of a West German effort "to bring about a clash between the Western powers and the Soviet Union to the advantage of West German militarists and revenge-seekers"; "continuing to connive at [FRG] interference . . . in the affairs of West Berlin and the use of the city's territory for international provocations," the Western powers assumed "full responsibility for the possible consequences."

Allied air corridors from West Germany across East Germany to West Berlin. USSR charged Aug. 23 that Western powers used these routes to fly spies and troublemakers into Berlin. (Wide World map)

The Western notes of Aug. 26 rejected "the suggestion that the purposes for which the Western Allies use the air corridors are within the competence of the Soviet Union."

The Western notes said: The 4-power Allied Control Council established the air corridors in 1945 "as the manner in which the unrestricted right of air access to Berlin would be exercised by the Western powers," and "there has never been any limitation whatsoever placed on their use" by the Western powers' planes; "if there are 'illegal and provocative activities'" taking place in Berlin, "they are certainly those of the authorities of East Germany" in clamping down the border restrictions; the Western powers did not understand the Soviet complaints against the presence of West German officials in West Berlin since "West Berlin has a wide variety of ties with the Federal Republic that are in no way incompatible with the 4-power status of Berlin"; furthermore, the USSR and East Germany "have been trying to integrate East Berlin completely into East Germany" despite the quadripartite status of all of Berlin. [See pp. 293B1-295A2]

The U.S. had warned Aug. 24, in a White House statement issued with the approval of Pres. Kennedy and State Secy. Rusk, that "any interference by the Soviet government or its East German régime with free access to West Berlin would be an aggressive act for the consequences of which the Soviet government would bear full responsibility." The U.S. statement described the Aug. 23 Soviet note as another "step in a deliberate campaign of deception and attempted intimidation designed to distract attention from failures of the Soviet government and to heighten world tension."

The U.S. statement accused the USSR of "cynicism and irresponsibility" in making its "false" and "slanderous" charges "at the very moment when the Soviet government is sealing off the Eastern sector" of Berlin in "direct violation of the Soviet government's commitment to 'the economic and political unity of Germany'" and of its "pledged word . . . to cooperate with the Allied governments 'to mitigate the effects of the administrative division of Germany and Berlin' by facilitation of the movement of persons and goods and the exchange of information 'throughout Germany, including Berlin'." (Material in single quotation marks was taken from a communiqué issued in Paris June 20, 1949 after the 6th session of the Council of Foreign Ministers.) [See Vol. IX, p. 201C, F]

Soviet Amb.-to-West Germany Andrei A. Smirnov said in a speech at the American Club in Bad Godesberg Aug. 25 that the air corridor problem could be solved by transferring all civilian traffic from West Berlin's Templehof and Tegel airfields to East Berlin's Schoenfeld airfield. Otherwise, he said, "the same controls must be established for civilian air transport [currently controlled by the U.S., Britain, France and USSR] which now exist with the railway, the autobahn and the waterway transports [controlled by the East German police]."

West German Pres. Heinrich Luebke made an unannounced flight in a U.S. military plane from Bonn to West Berlin Aug. 29 in a deliberate gesture of defiance of the Soviet protest against the use of the Berlin air corridors by West German officials. His trip was denounced by the East German government Aug. 29 as "provocative."

All-German Affairs Min. Ernst Lemmer of West German, whose presence in West Berlin was denounced specifically in the Aug. 23 Soviet notes, was ordered by Chancellor Adenauer Aug. 24 to remain in Berlin as an act of defiance and to cancel planned electioneering appearances in West Germany.

New Curbs Protested. Identical letters protesting the tightening of border restrictions between East and West Berlin were sent by the U.S., British and French ambassadors in

Week in Headlines

USSR charged West with abusing air access to West Berlin.

Brazilian Pres. Quadros resigned; military sought to block Vice Pres. Goulart's succession.

American Motors and UAW agreed on employe profit-sharing plan.

Dr. Cheddi Jagan's leftist party won British Guiana elections.

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Bonn Aug. 26 to Soviet Amb. Mikhail G. Peruvkhin in East Berlin. "In addition to purporting to limit even more severely the crossing points" for West Berliners and West Germans, "these measures would limit foreigners, diplomats and . . . members of the Allied forces to a single crossing point" and "warn all persons to remain 100 meters away from the sector boundary," the letters said. They insisted that Peruvkhin take "steps to insure continued unrestricted access to East Berlin without hindrance as to time and place." They urged him to "warn the East German authorities" that any attempt to enforce the "illegal" 100-meter requirement "could only have the most serious consequences."

West Berliners generally ignored the Communists' 100-meter limit and often crowded up to the border barriers to jeer at East German police and troops. U.S., British and French troops were ordered to patrol up to the border Aug. 23, and U.S. tanks and British and French armored cars were brought up to a short distance from the borders. The 3 Western commandants in Berlin, in a statement denouncing the new restrictions, said Aug. 23 that they were "taking the necessary action to insure the security and integrity of the sector borders." [See p. 294C-E3]

A modification of the 100-meter curb was made public in the East Berlin newspaper Neues Deutschland Aug. 25. The statement indicated that the curb applied only to West Berliners, advised them to "keep away at the border from all gatherings of a provocative nature," but said that "there is no thought of interferring in any way with West Berlin citizens who live in the immediate vicinity of the border."

Ulbricht Delays Controls. East German Communist Party First Secy. Walter Ulbricht said at a Communist rally in East Berlin's Sports Hall Aug. 25 that East Germany would not try to control Allied traffic in and out of West Berlin until a peace treaty had been signed. Until then, Ulbricht said, East Germany would "strictly adhere" to the Sept. 20, 1955 East German-Soviet agreement under wich the USSR kept control of Allied traffic between West Germany and Berlin whereas East Germany received authority to control all other traffic. [See p. 238C2; Vol. XV. 343G3]

Ulbricht, directing part of his speech at Pres. Kennedy, said the Communists had "advance[d] the date" of the Berlin border closing because West Germany planned to attack East Germany after the Sept. 17 West German election. He said East-West negotiations on Berlin would have to take up the matters of: (a) East German control of Western land, air and water access to West Berlin, (b) the creation of a "free city" of West Berlin in which such provocative activities as the U.S.-owned RIAS radio would be banned, (c) the abandonment of West German demands for the recovery the Oder-Neisse region and other eastern territory lost by Germany.

Khrushchev for Talks. Soviet Premier Khrushchev said in an interview with U.S. columnist Drew Pearson that he was "ready at any moment" to negotiate with Western leaders on a "realistic settlement of the German problem on a mutually acceptable basis."

In the interview, conducted at the Black Sea resort of Sochi (where Khrushchev was vacationing) and made public Aug. 27, Khrushchev repeated that the USSR was willing to guarantee "free city" status for West Berlin and to station a token Soviet force there alongside U.S., British and French troops.

Khrushchev warned that unless the Western powers signed a peace treaty with East Germany, their access to West Berlin would depend on East Germany's permission. Should they use force to maintain access, "that means war," Khrushchev declared. He said: "Signing of a peace treaty . . . will tie hands of revenge-seekers and discourage them from indulging in gambles. In rejecting peaceful unification of the German nation, . . . West Germany is contemplating the forcible seizure of the German Democratic Republic. Under these conditions attack by West Germany against the German Democratic Republic . . . would be the start of a thermonuclear war. . . . Are we to wait until Germany reunites—which . . . can take place only by means of terrible war—or are we to sign a treaty with the actually existing states without further delay? . . ." [See pp. 286F2-E3, 278B1-279C1]

Fanfani Proposed Talks. The office of Italian Premier Amintore Fanfani Aug. 27 sent Italian newspapers a note asserting that the Berlin border closings might have been averted if the Western powers had followed Fanfani's advice to negotiate with the Soviet Union.

Fanfani said that when he visited Moscow Aug. 2-5 with Italian Foreign Min. Antonio Segni, he had urged Khrushchev to negotiate with the West and Khrushchev had agreed. The suggestion had been made after Khrushchev warned Fanfani that Italy and other Western nations faced nuclear destruction should war start.

Fanfani, on returning to Rome, sent messages telling the Western governments of his conversations with Khrushchev. U.S. State Secy. Rusk and West German Chancellor Adenauer heard the story in person from Fanfani, but neither accepted Fanfani's proposal of East-West talks.

Ansa, the Italian news agency, reported Aug. 27 that Khrushchev, in a message delivered to Fanfani by Soviet Amb.-to-Italy Semyon P. Kozyrev Aug. 24, "confirmed in writing that he had accepted the invitation . . . [of] Fanfani to hold negotiations [with the Allies] . . . on the principal problems of the present moment." Fanfani, with Kremlin permission, sent copies of the Khrushchev letter to the U.S., British and West German governments. [See pp. 286C3, 276C-D2, 270A3]

(West German Foreign Min. Heinrich von Brentano said in Bonn Aug. 28 that the Western powers would soon invite the USSR to negotiate on Berlin but that Khrushchev would have to change his "negative" attitude if there were to be agreement. He suggested that the 2 sides start talks on a plan, proposed by the Western powers in 1959, that called for Germany's reunification by free elections and for putting all Berlin under a single elected council.) [See Vol. XIX, p. 157B1-E3]

British Views. British Prime Min. Macmillan told reporters Aug. 26 that the Berlin situation was "very worrying" but that "nobody is going to fight about it." Questioned on the golf course at Gleneagles, Scotland, where he was on holiday, Macmillan said: "We have to be very careful . . . that nobody does anything foolish. . . . There would be much more danger of war if weapons were not so destructive. . . . But there is always the danger of folly."

Macmillan conferred at Gleaneagles Aug. 27 with the Earl of Home, British foreign secretary, who also was on holiday in Scotland. Macmillan then said he and Lord Home agreed "that negotiations should take place" but that they "must be held in the right atmosphere and at the right time."

Lord Home said the Western powers were working on a "double-barreled policy" consisting of "building up the strength of NATO as part of the policy of finding a solution through negotiations." Strength was needed, he said, to convince the USSR that the West was able and determined to back up its insistence on these 3 conditions—"the freedom and viability of West Berlin, the presence of the Allies in the city to defend that freedom and the right of access to the city."

George Brown, British Labor Party deputy leader, speaking in the absence of Opposition leader Hugh Gaitskell (who was on holiday in Yugoslavia), charged Aug. 26 that "the dither and delay of the last month" had jeopardized Western chances of a reasonable solution of the Berlin problem. [See pp. 280B-E2, 279G1-D3]

Nehru Calls Red Move Legal. Indian Prime Min. Nehru told the Indian Parliament Aug. 23 that East Germany, as a sovereign state, had a legal right to close the East-West Berlin border "whether it was justifiable or not." He said the Western powers had obtained access to West Berlin "not as a right but as a concession from the Soviet authorities."

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Nehru's statement was attacked Aug. 24 by many U.S. Congress members, including such friends of India as: Sen. John Sherman Cooper (R., Ky.), ex-ambassador to India, who called Nehru's assertion "incorrect"; Sen. Joseph S. Clark (D., Pa.), who said "the statement is most unfortunate, ill-timed and does not properly interpret the legalities"; Sen. Prescott Bush (R., Conn.), who called it "fantastic."

U.S. Amb.-to-India John Kenneth Galbraith discussed the issue with Nehru Aug. 25 and then said Nehru had authorized him to state that Nehru's "remarks should not be taken to mean that access to Berlin may be denied or impaired and to affirm his belief that it should not be changed."

Nehru told the Indian Parliament Aug. 28: "One thing should be accepted without reservation, and that is that access to West Berlin should be full and should continue as heretofore"; interference with Western access would have "the gravest consequences"; the disputants should not "stick too much to legal niceties" but try to settle the issue peacefully.

An Indian government spokesman disclosed Aug. 26 that Nehru had regretfully declined West Berlin Mayor Brandt's invitation to visit West Berlin. (The Indian government announced Aug. 24 that Nehru would visit Moscow Sept. 6. A communiqué issued Aug. 28, after an Aug. 25-27 visit of Hungarian Premier Ferenc Muennich to India, disclosed that Nehru had accepted an invitation to visit Hungary at a "convenient" time.) [See p. 295E1]

Brazilian Presidential Crisis

Quadros Resigns. Jânio da Silva Quadros, 44, inaugurated as Brazilian president Jan. 31, unexpectedly resigned Aug. 25.

Quadros' action precipitated a government crisis as most of the country's military leaders, headed by Marshal Odilio Denys, the war minister, sought to block leftist Vice Pres. João B. Goulart, 43, elected in 1960 with Communist support, from succeeding Quadros as president.

The crisis found Goulart in Paris on his way home from a visit to Communist China and the Far East as head of a Brazilian economic mission.

In his letter of resignation, Quadros told Congress he had been forced to leave office because he had been "overcome by forces of reaction," including some [groups] from abroad," that sought to block his program of "true economic and political freedom" for Brazil. "Had I remained at my post," he said, "I would share no longer the confidence and peace necessary to carry on my duties." "I believe that I would not even be able to maintain the public peace."

(Quadros had been criticized for his policies of neutralism in the East-West cold war, of closer ties with Communist nations and of sympathy for Cuba's Castro régime. In a speech in Rio de Janeiro Aug. 20, Guanabara Gov. Carlos Lacerda, an ex-Quadros supporter, had threatened to resign

Vice Pres. João B. Goulart (left) was blocked from Brazil's presidency by military leaders after Aug. 25 resignation of Pres. Jânio Quadros (right). (Wide World photos)

in protest against Quadros' policy of establishing friendlier relations with Communist nations. Lacerda also criticized Quadros for awarding a medal Aug. 19 to Cuban Industry Min. Ernesto Guevara during Guevara's state visit to Brazil. In a radio-TV speech Aug. 24, Lacerda said Justice Min. Oscar Pedrosa Horta had invited him to join in a plot to suspend Congress and set Quadros up as a dictator.)

Congress accepted Quadros' resignation and named Chamber of Deputies Speaker Ranieri Mazzili as interim president.

Quadros' resignation touched off a student demonstration in Rio de Janeiro that was broken up by police using tear gas. A mob of about 500 persons stoned the U.S. Embassy in Rio de Janeiro and broke several windows. Other anti-U.S. demonstrators threw tear gas grenades into the USIS office before they were dispersed by police.

Retired Marshal Henrique Teixeira Lott, an unsuccessful presidential candidate in 1960, was arrested Aug. 27 after charging Aug. 26 that War Min. Denys was planning to prevent Goulart from assuming the presidency and to arrest Goulart on his arrival from Europe. Lott was charged with making an inflamatory statement.

Goulart Blocked. Interim Pres. Mazzili reported to Congress Aug. 28 that the military leaders opposed Goulart's succession to the presidency "for reasons of national security." Mazzili made the statement after meeting earlier Aug. 28 in Brasilia with War Min. Denys, Navy Min. Silvio Heck and Air Min. Gabriel Grum Moss.

(Denys, asserting Aug. 27 that he opposed Goulart's governmental philosophy, had said the time had come to choose between "communism and Brazil.")

Goulart told newsmen in Paris Aug. 29 that he would return to Brazil to assume the presidency and "fulfill the constitutional duties that are imposed on me." But he did not say when he would return.

A bank holiday was declared Aug. 28 and news censorship was imposed. Military police in Rio de Janeiro used tear gas to repel a leftist rally of 2,000 pro-Goulart supporters.

Goulart Wins Support. The commander of the 3d Army, Gen. José Machado Lopes, whose forces in Rio Grande do Sul state made up 2/3 of the Brazilian army, was reported Aug. 29 to have come out in support of Goulart. A 3d Army envoy reportedly informed Denys that Lopes would take orders only from Goulart.

The Guaiba radio, in a broadcast from the Rio Grande do Sul city of Porto Alegre, declared Aug. 29 that the 3d Army and the 5th Air Force, whose headquarters were in Porto Alegre, would no longer take orders from the "reactionary" war minister. The broadcast also announced that a joint statement had been issued by Lopes and State Gov. Leonel Brizola, Goulart's brother-in-law, calling on the 2d Army in São Paulo and the civilians "to back the revolution."

The Goias, Santa Catarina and Parana state governors also gave their support to Goulart. The Goias governor called on the people "to fight" if need be to assure Goulart's succession to office.

Pro-Goulart broadcasts were conducted by 5 large radio stations (dubbed "the liberty network") from Rio Grande do Sul state.

International Reaction. The Soviet news agency Tass charged Aug. 26 that Quadros' resignation had been forced by U.S. economic pressure and by U.S. displeasure with Quadros' "independent foreign policy." Tass said the U.S. had been dissatisfied with Quadros' "refusal to support [U.S.] stratagems against Cuba and" his policy "to normalize relations" with the USSR "and other countries in the Socialist camp." (The Brazilian foreign ministry Aug. 29 suspended negotiations for resumption of Brazilian-Soviet ties.)

(The text of an exchange of letters between Premier Khrushchev and Quadros, setting the stage for a resumption of Soviet-Brazilian diplomatic relations, had been published in Moscow by Izvestia Aug. 25 and Pravda Aug. 26.)

A U.S. State Department statement Aug. 26 denied "irresponsible charges" by "international mischief makers" that the U.S. had pressured Quadros to resign. The statement, citing U.S. agreement to provide Brazil with large-scale economic aid, said U.S.-Brazilian relations had been "friendly and close."

Cuban Premier Fidel Castro Aug. 26 attributed Quadros' resignation to a "treacherous stroke of imperialism's paw." Praising Quadros as a defender of Cuba "against [U.S.] intervention," Castro called the ex-Brazilian president "one of the staunchest supporters of self-determination."

In a TV address Aug. 29, Castro advised Brazilians to wage guerrilla warfare against "reactionary militarists" who, he charged, were responsible for forcing Quadros out of office. [See pp. 292B2, 259A1-C1, 179F2, 106D2, 86C2, 39C1]

Soviet Union

Klochko Defects. Dr. Mikhail Antonovich Klochko, 59, Ukranian-born winner of the Stalin Prize in chemis-

try, was granted political asylum by the Canadian cabinet Aug. 16.

Klochko had come to Canada as part of a 9-member delegation to the 18th International Congress on Theoretical & Applied Chemistry, held in Montreal earlier in August. After attending the congress, the delegation went to Ottawa, where Klochko presented his asylum plea to the Royal Canadian Mounted Police Aug. 15. Soviet Embassy officials were permitted to argue with Klochko for 90 minutes Aug. 16 in a fruitless effort to persuade him to return to the USSR.

Klochko, a member of several editorial boards of Soviet chemistry journals and the author of numerous papers on chemistry, had been a laboratory chief in the N. S. Kurnakov Institute of General & Inorganic Chemistry during 1947-55 and had headed a Moscow chemical laboratory at the time he defected. He was called the most important Soviet scientist to defect. Canadian Justice Min. E. Davie Fulton said in Ottawa Aug. 17 that Klochko had said he had quit the USSR because "there was no scientific or intellectual freedom" there.

At an Ottawa press conference Aug. 18, Klochko said: "I decided to leave the USSR 5 years ago"; a Communist Party member since 1930, except for a period in 1937, "I was depressed by the lack of contact with the outside world, the falsity of information and the difficulty of self-expression"; "if I stayed in the USSR I would not be able to give to mankind all that I could if I were in a free democratic country"; much of his work had been suppressed in the USSR after he had charged, in 1948, that Soviet scientific historians had distordet facts; a treatise he had written on sea-water use had received international acclaim and had been published in Communist China, but suppressed in the USSR; the USSR might be ahead of the West in some scientific fields, but the West led in others, including Klochko's field; "I was not tempted [to defect] by any material considerations but . . . [acted] to seek freedom of scientific expression and to save what is left of my human self-respect"; "I could not carry out pure research where the scientist is constantly hampered by political considerations"; "it is the lack of human dignity in the USSR that hurts most." [See p. 268D3]

Sereda Defects. Nicolai Ivanovich Sereda, 24, an electronics expert from Kiev, was reported Aug. 22 to have received political asylum by the Austrian government after breaking away from a Soviet tourist group in Vienna in July. Sereda's father, Ivan Matvejevich Sereda, a member of the Ukranian Academy of Science, was flown to Vienna by the Soviet authorities but failed to persuade his son to return. Sereda, who was flown to West Germany, was said to have opposed Russian rule of Ukraine. The AP reported that Sereda had hinted that an anti-Soviet underground was operating in Ukraine and was in contact with Western refugee groups. [See Vol. XII, p. 215D, 55A]

Yaroslav Aide Ousted. B. A. Barniov was dismissed as first secretary of the CP committee of the Yaroslav region in central Russia for failing to improve farm output (reported June 18). He was replaced by F. L. Loschenkov. [See p. 208G2]

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

The President

Peace Corps. The first Peace Corps members to get overseas assignments were welcomed by Pres. Kennedy at the White House Aug. 28 preparatory to their departure for Tanganyika and Ghana. The President told the volunteers: "We put a good deal of hope in the work that you do"; their "influence may be far-reaching" and go beyond their "immediate day-to-day tasks. . . ."

The group was made up of 52 volunteers who were to teach English and history in Ghana's secondary schools, and 24 who were to help develop and build a farm-to-market road system in Tanganyika.

The announcement of the Ghanaian project was made in Washington June 26, and the agreement for it was signed by representatives of both countries in Accra July 19. The volunteers received 2 months' training at the University of California and were to receive 2 more weeks of training at University College in Legon, Ghana. The group left for Ghana Aug. 29.

The Tanganyika group trained at Texas Western College and was to get 26 more days of training in Puerto Rico.

Other Peace Corps projects announced: July 19—45 volunteers were to be trained to teach secondary school in Nigeria; Aug. 1—25 were to be trained for service in India's Punjab State; Aug. 20—29 were to be trained for teaching or farm assignments in East Pakistan. [See p. 156B-D2]

U.S. Coal for German Bases. Special Presidential Asst. Myer Feldman announced Aug. 23 that, on Pres. Kennedy's orders, anthracite coal and coke needed for U.S. forces in West Germany would be bought by the Defense Department from U.S. domestic producers instead of from European sources. Feldman said the move was taken in an effort to improve the U.S.' balance of payments and to aid some U.S. "labor surplus areas."

The order limited the price of the fuel to not more than 25% higher than the cost of fuel from European sources. The change had been sought by the Pennsylvania Congressional delegation and the Anthracite Institute.

Captive Nations Week. Pres. Kennedy July 14 proclaimed the 3d week in July as Captive Nations Week. He said that Congress, in adopting its Captive Nations Week resolution in 1959, had wanted such a declaration "each year until such time as freedom and independence shall have been achieved for all the captive nations of the world." [See Vol. XIX, p. 240D2]

Labor Day Message. In a Labor Day message released Aug. 28, Mr. Kennedy said that Americans "look upon man's toil as an expression of individual personality and will, not a commodity to be exploited for the benefit of a state or ruling political party." [See Vol. XX, p. 311E-F2]

Congress

Foreign Aid. Rival, curtailed versions of the Administration's foreign economic and military aid bill were passed by the Senate and House Aug. 18 and sent to joint conference. The Senate bill included (but the House bill omitted) the Administration's prime foreign-aid objective—authority to borrow from the Treasury to finance long-term development loans. The Senate bill would authorize $686 million less and the House bill $394 million less than the $4,762,500,000 requested for fiscal 1962.

The Senate bill (S1983), passed Aug. 18 by a 66-24 vote (46 D. & 20 R. vs. 13 D. & 11 R.), called for a $4,076,500,000 authorization for foreign economic and military aid in fiscal 1962. It would also authorize the President to borrow $1.187 billion from the Treasury in fiscal 1962 and $1.7 billion in each of the following 4 years to finance long-term development loans.

The House bill (HR8400), passed Aug. 18 by a 287-140 vote (195 D. & 92 R. vs. 77 R. & 63 D.), would authorize $4,368,500,000 for foreign aid in fiscal 1962, including $1.2 billion for the Development Loan Fund. It required that the money be appropriated.

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee had approved the bill July 24. Prior to the committee's action, State Secy. Dean Rusk and Treasury Secy. Douglas Dillon had sent to both houses July 19 a letter urging passage of the program.

The first week of Senate debate had centered on the crucial long-term financing provision. An amendment proposing annual appropriation of loan funds was defeated by a 56-39 vote (46 D. & 10 R. vs. 23 R. & 16 D.) after 7 hours of debate Aug. 11. The amendment's author was Sen. Harry F. Byrd (D., Va.). The surprisingly strong vote favoring the Administration was attributed to Pres. Kennedy's intensive campaign of phone calls to dubious supporters and even confirmed opponents of the bill.

After the vote, the bill's floor manager, Foreign Affairs Committee Chmn. J. W. Fulbright (D., Ark.), assured certain of the bill's supporters that Congress would not lose control of the program despite the long-term financing authority. These assurances were aimed especially at Sens. Leverett Saltonstall (R., Mass.), Prescott Bush (R., Conn.), Kenneth B. Keating (R., N.Y.), Hugh Scott (R., Pa.) and Thomas J. Dodd (D., Conn.), who favored a plan to enable Congress to veto individual loans. Eventually, Fulbright supported, and the Senate accepted Aug. 15, an amendment to require the President to submit plans for loans of $5 million or more to Congress 30 days prior to the signing of agreements. The amendment was offered by Senate GOP leader Everett M. Dirksen (Ill.).

An amendment to deny aid to a country unless the President determined it was not Communist dominated was accepted by a 61-34 vote Aug. 17. Proposed by Bush, it was a substitute for an amendment offered by Dodd to deny aid to 14 members of the Sino-Soviet bloc, including Yugoslavia and Poland. The Dodd amendment was strongly opposed by the Administration.

Also accepted by a 74-16 vote Aug. 18 was an amendment offered by Sen. Ernest Gruening (D., Alaska) to limit interest rates charged for relending development loan funds in recipient countries to 5% above the rate charged for the U.S. loan. Fulbright had opposed this.

Rejected by a 45-43 vote Aug. 18 was a proposal of Sen. Styles Bridges (R., N.H.) to bar aid to countries that

exported strategic materials to Communist countries.

The House debate on its bill started Aug. 14 after approval by the House Foreign Affairs Committee Aug. 1. The first amendment accepted, by a 197-185 standing-vote Aug. 16, deleted the long-term borrowing authority. The amendment was proposed by Rep. D. S. Saund (D., Calif.), who said the aid program had "inadequacies of administration" that the borrowing authority could not cure. He said such a provision would reduce the recipients' incentive to help themselves. In a letter to the House Aug. 16, Pres. Kennedy urged reinstatement of the borrowing authority.

The House Aug. 18 accepted amendments designed to deny aid to Cuba, to establish a total embargo on U.S.-Cuban trade, to bar aid to nations aiding Cuba unless the President determined it to be in the national interest and to ban aid to 18 Communist-dominated goverments, including Cuba, Yugoslavia and Poland. [See pp. 256C1, 248A1-A2]

Peace Corps Bill. An Administration bill (S2000) making the Peace Corps a permanent agency and authorizing $40 million for Peace Corps work in fiscal 1962 was passed Aug. 25 by Senate voice vote. The bill provided for sending 2,700 corpsmen overseas by June 1962. It gave the President authority over the program and power to exercise this function through "such [U.S.] agency or officer . . . as he may select." The bill would also authorize termination pay of up to $75 for each month of satisfactory service.

Principal opponent of the Senate bill was Sen. Bourke B. Hickenlooper (R., Ia.). His proposal to reduce the first year's authorization to $25 million was defeated Aug. 24 by a 59-32 vote (51 D. & 8 R. vs. 24 R. & 8 D.); Foreign Relations Committee Chrmn. J. W. Fulbright (D., Ark.) voted for the cut. Fulbright Aug. 4 (the day his committee had reported the bill to the Senate) had advocated a program "on a more modest level."

The Senate Aug. 24 accepted other Hickenlooper proposals to limit to 75 the number of corpsmen who could be assigned to international organizations and to limit to 25 the number who could be paid over $15,000 a year.

Other amendments accepted Aug. 24 would not exempt Peace Corpsmen from the military draft and would require the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to study the Corps' first 2 years' operation. Amendments accepted Aug. 25 would: (a) limit the number of administrative personnel to 275 (proposed by Hickenlooper); (b) require every corpsman to be able to speak the language of the country to which he was assigned (proposed by Sen. Carl T. Curtis, R., Neb.); (c) require corpsmen to be trained in "the philosophy, strategy, tactics and menace of communism" (proposed by Sen. Jack B. Miller, R., Ia.). [See p. 216D-G3]

Job-Retraining Bill. The Senate Aug. 23 passed and sent to the House by 60-31 vote (44 D. & 16 R. vs. 16 R. & 15 D.) a bill (S1991) to establish a $655 million, 4-year program to retrain unemployed and underemployed workers. The bill was a modification of the program requested by Pres. Kennedy.

Under the bill's provisions, the U.S. would (1) provide subsidies for vocational educational schools to retrain workers and (2) supervise on-the-job training. Living allowances not to exceed the average weekly unemployment compensation of their home states would be paid to school trainees but not to on-the-job trainees.

An estimated 80,000 unemployed and 3,000 underemployed workers were to be retrained during the first year of the program. More were to be retrained in succeeding years. Accordingly, $90 million was authorized for the first year, $165 million for the 2d year, $200 million each for the 3d and 4th years. States would be required to pay 50% of the cost of the training allowances after June 30, 1963.

The bill would authorize (a) training programs for persons 16-21 years old and for workers in farm families with less than $1,200 annual net family income, (b) the appointment of a 10-member National Advisory Committee.

Prior to passage, the Senate rejected by 44-43 vote an amendment, proposed by Sen. Winston L. Prouty (R., Vt.), to reduce the program to 2 years and the authorization to $255 million. Also rejected was a Prouty amendment that would have denied the weekly training allowances to the 16-21-year-olds. In its stead, the Senate accepted by 59-53 vote an amendment by the bill's floor manager, Sen. Joseph S. Clark (D., Pa.). The Clark amendment would limit to 5% of the total of the program's funds the payments to the youths with less than 3 years' employment experience.

The bill varied from the President's original requests in that it would: (a) expand the retraining to include the underemployed as well as the jobless; (b) eliminate on-the-job training supplemental pay; (c) eliminate a provision, opposed by Clark, to subsidize relocation after retraining. [See p. 203D2]

Oceanography Program. The Senate July 28 passed and sent to the House by 50-32 vote (45 D. & 5 R. vs. 25 R. & 7 D.) a bill (S901) to establish an estimated $691½ million, 10-year program of oceanographic and Great Lakes research.

The bill would create a Division of Marine Sciences in the National Science Foundation to coordinate the currently independent research efforts of about 24 U.S. agencies and bureaus. It would authorize the construction of 61 oceanography ships, the awarding of research grants and funds for the education of marine scientists and the construction of laboratory facilities.

The bill was attacked by Senate GOP leader Everett M. Dirksen (Ill.) as "a billion-dollar fantasy." It was defended by its sponsor, Sen. Warren G. Magnuson (D., Wash.), chairman of the Interstate & Foreign Commerce Committee, as necessary to help the U.S. catch up with Russian oceanography. [See p. 297C2, 120B1, 73B1]

Identical Bid Ban. A bill (HR8603) to "expose and attack" identical bids on U.S. contracts was passed by the House Aug. 22 and sent to the Senate. The bill, introduced by Rep. Wright Patman (D., Tex.), would require: (a) U.S. procurement officers to report to the Attorney General identical bids exceeding $10,000; (b) affidavits from each bidder certifying that there had been no collusion. [See p. 151E3]

Anti-Racket Laws. The House Aug. 23 passed by voice vote and sent to the Senate a bill (HR468) to broaden the Fugitive Felon Act to allow federal seizure and prosecution of any person defined as a felon according to the law of the state from which he was fleeing. The Justice Department, which had requested this and 7 other anti-racket bills, had sought to make the law apply to all persons acused of crimes punishable by death or imprisonment for more than one year under state law. The House cut this provision after protests that many states gave sentences in excess of one year for such crimes as college hazings, trespassing and dog-stealing.

The House Aug. 21 had passed and returned to the Senate 3 other Administration requested bills (S1653, S1656, S1657), previously passed by the Senate, to prohibit: (1) travel or transportation in aid of racketeering enterprises; (2) transmission of bets and related information by wire communications; (3) interstate transportation of wagering paraphernalia. An Administration-requested bill passed by the Senate—S1665, to bar intimidation of witnesses cooperating with a U.S. agency—was tabled by the House Judiciary Committee Aug. 15. [See p. 274F1]

Lead, Zinc Subsidies. The House Aug. 24 passed and sent to the Senate by 196-172 vote a bill (HR84) to provide subsidies totaling $16½ million to small lead and zinc producers over a 4-year period. The Administration had proposed a $6,100,000, 3-year program. A similar lead-zinc subsidy bill had been vetoed by ex-Pres. Eisenhower in 1960.

Producers would be eligible for the subsidies if they had not mined or sold more than 3,000 tons of lead and zinc combined during any 12-month period since Jan. 1, 1956. The subsidies would be 75% of the difference between 14½¢ a pound and the market price for lead, and 55% of the difference between 14½¢ a pound and the market price for zinc.

A Senate bill (S1747) that included the subsidies but that also would impose higher lead and zinc tariffs was approved by the Senate Interior Committee Aug. 24. The tariff increases were opposed by the Administration. [See Vol. XX, p. 303C3]

Treasury, Post Office Funds. Both houses of Congress approved Aug. 15 and Pres. Kennedy signed Aug. 22 a compromise bill (HR5954) appropriating $5,298,765,000 in fiscal 1962 for the Treasury and Post Office Departments and U.S. Tax Court.

The $4,368,500,000 appropriation for the Post Office was exactly the sum voted by the House Mar. 28 but was $18,400,000 less than the Senate had approved June 1 and $55,600,000 less than the Administration had requested. The bill provided for 9,000 new Post Office Department employes.

The $928,515,000 appropriation for the Treasury was $16,900,000 more than the House had approved, $10½ million less than the Senate had voted and $17,416,000 less than the President had sought ($10,800,000 was cut from the requested Coast Guard funds). The bill provided for an increase in Treasury personnel of 4,318—including 3,898 for the Internal Revenue Service for income-tax collection work. The Treasury appropriation included $452 million for the Internal Revenue Service, $4,462,000 for the Bureau of Narcotics, $6,306,000 for the Secret Service, $298,350,000 for the Coast Guard.

The Tax Court appropriation was $1¾ million. [See p. 150G3, 112G2]

(Pres. Kennedy asked Congress Aug. 22 for a supplemental appropriation of $1,200,000 for the Treasury Department in fiscal 1962. $900,000 of the amount was for Customs inspection under the new law reducing from $500 to $100 the duty-free allowance for citizens returning from abroad.) [See p. 297C3]

Washington Vote Rules. A bill (HR8444) providing Presidential-election voting rules for Washington, D. C. citizens was passed by the House Aug. 14 and sent to the Senate. The bill implemented the 23d Amendment to the Constitution, which allowed capital citizens to vote. [See p. 121C-D2]

Espionage

Soblen Convicted. Dr. Robert A. Soblen (born Sobolevicius) was convicted in U.S. District Court in New York July 13 on 2 counts of war-time espionage for the Soviet Union. He was found guilty of conspiring to obtain information on the U.S.' defense and of transmitting such information to the USSR.

U.S. Judge William B. Herlands Aug. 7 sentenced Soblen to life in prison. Soblen, 60, suffering from leukemia and with a life expectancy of less than a year, was freed Aug. 28 on $100,000 bail pending appeal.

The Justice Department charged that Lithuanian-born Soblen had been assigned by the late Lavrentia P. Beria, former Soviet secret police chief, to spy against the U.S. and that Soblen had served the Soviet Union from 1940 until 1960. At the time of his arrest, Soblen was supervising psychiatrist at Rockland State Hospital in Orangeburg, N.Y., where his wife, Dr. Dina Soble, worked as a physician.

The chief prosecution witness during the trial, which began June 19, was Soblen's brother, Jack Soble, who had confessed in 1957 to spying and was currently serving a 7½-year sentence. The brother, frequently clashing with defense attorney Joseph Brill, said June 21 that he had "been begging" Dr. Soblen to admit his spy role. He testified June 22 that Soblen "despised" the Russians for their low rate of spy-pay ($100-150 a month—and often late) and once "had a very big fight on a street" over the matter with Soviet secret agent Stephan Choundrenko. Soble said his brother's Russian contact was Mrs. Helen Zubilin, wife of Soviet agent Vasili Michailovich Zubilin.

Other witnesses against Soblen were Floyd Cleveland Miller, who had been a Communist agent in the U.S. 20 years ago and who was named as a co-conspirator but not as a defendant in the Soblen indictment; Mrs. Johanna Koenen Beker of New York, a former Communist; Mrs. Gertrude C. Johnson, former employe of the Office of Strategic Services. The women testified that a Dr. Hans Hirschfeld and a Dr. Horst Baerensprung, Germans formerly employed by the OSS, relayed information to the Russians through Soblen.

Asst. U.S. Attys. Richard Conway Casey, 28, and David R. Hyde, 32, headed the prosecution. [See Vol. XX, p. 420C1-A2]

Civil Rights

Voter 'Stand-Ins' Planned. The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. announced at a news conference in Miami Beach Aug. 16 that a program of Negro "stand-ins" would be instituted soon "at places where they have been denied the right to register." He said the 2-year goal was to double the number of registered Southern Negro voters (currently 1,300,000). [See Vol. XX, p. 350F2-A3]

(The church remained "the most segregated major institution in America," King charged in an address to 14,000 teenagers at the American Lutheran Church's Luther League Convention in Miami Beach Aug. 16. King said: "The salvation of the world lies in the hands of the 'maladjusted'," those who refused to accept inequality and injustice; the world had become a neighborhood through scientific advancement; "now we face the moral responsibility to make it a brotherhood"; "we must learn to live together as brothers or die together as fools.")

Voter Reinstatement Ordered. U.S. District Judge Ben C. Dawkins in Shreveport, La. Aug. 21 ordered the reinstatement of eligible Bienville Parish Negro voters who had been purged from the voting rolls in 1956. The Justice Department, suing for the reinstatement, said about 570 Negroes had been removed from the rolls. Dawkins also enjoined the Bienville Parish Registrar of Voters, Mrs. Pauline Culpepper, "against any further discrimination in conducting the affairs of that office." [See Vol. XX, p. 211E2-A3]

Arkansas Riders Freed. The sentences of 4 convicted Freedom Riders were suspended by Little Rock, Ark. Municipal Judge Quinn Glover July 13 in return for the Riders' promise to leave Arkansas without making further tests of the state's segregated transportation facilities. They had been convicted by Glover July 12 on breach-of-the-peace charges and had been ordered to serve 6 months in jail and to pay fines of $500 each.

The group, led by the Rev. John Raines, 27, a white, and the Rev. Elton B. Cox, a Negro, went by bus to Shreveport, La. July 14. The terminal was guarded by police, and they did not try to use its segregated facilities. [See p. 266F2]

(4 Negroes from Shreveport were arrested at the city's Continental Trailways bus terminal Aug. 4 after trying to use the segregated facilities.)

Jackson Hearings Begun. 189 Freedom Riders appeared before Hinds County Judge Russel Moore in Jackson, Miss. Aug. 22, pleaded not guilty and appealed their police-court convictions on charges of breach-of-the-peace. All had been released on appeal bonds of $500 each after their test of the city's segregated transportation facilities had resulted in arrests and convictions by the city court judge.

Moore scheduled jury-hearings on the appeals at the rate of 2 a day beginning Aug. 22. The first defendant, Henry J. Thomas, 19, a Negro, was convicted Aug. 24. He was fined $200 and sentenced to 4 months in jail, the identical sentence he had received on his police court conviction.

The total number of Freedom Riders arrested in Jackson was raised to 275 after 7 more were arrested July 23 at the train terminal and 8 were arrested the next weekend at the bus terminal. The latter group was convicted July 31 of breach-of-the-peace. Hilmer Pabel, a photographer for "Quick" magazine in Munich, Germany, who was arrested with them, was acquited after he testified that his appearance with the group had been as a journalist.

Supreme Court Justice Hugo L. Black July 26 denied a writ of habeas corpus for Freedom Rider Elizabeth Porter Wyckoff, 45, white, who had been convicted in Jackson previously. The denial, concurred in by Justice Tom C. Clark, was on the ground that it had not been proven that the state had no legal processes available for her appeal. [See p. 250D1]

An appeal to federal court by 5 other Freedom Riders convicted in Jackson was denied by U.S. Judge Harold Cox in Jackson Aug. 26. Cox, returning their cases to county court, said the Riders' "status as interstate passengers is extremely doubtful. Their destination was Jackson but their objective was trouble." [See p. 250A-D1]

Florida Riders Convicted. Freedom Riders Leslie Lee Smith, 35, a Negro minister, and James O'Conner, 31, a white Barnard College instructor, were convicted of unlawful assembly by Marion County Judge Lewis Myers in Ocala, Fla. July 17. The Riders, arrested after a scuffle at the Ocala bus station in June, were released after posting $1,000 appeal bonds each. Smith's sentence was 30 days in jail plus a $500 fine or 6 months in jail; O'Conner's was a $250 fine or 90 days in jail.

A 3d Freedom Rider arrested with them, Herbert A. Collendar, 27, a Negro, was convicted Aug. 22 on the same charge. He was fined $300 and

sentenced to 6 months in jail. [See p. 225F-G2]

Wisconsin Bills Defeated. The Wisconsin legislature, despite pressure from a 12-day sit-in, rejected 3 civil rights bills Aug. 11. The Assembly, by 53-39 vote, killed a measure that would have permitted prosecution for bias in realty dealings. The Senate (1) voted 23-9 against giving the Governor's Commission on Human Rights additional power in investigating housing discrimination and (2) voted 22-10 against moving the state's fair employment division to the commission. [See p. 224G3]

Labor

American Motors-UAW Plan. Negotiators for the American Motors Corp. and the AFL-CIO United Auto Workers agreed in Detroit Aug. 26 on a "pioneering" profit-sharing plan for AM employes. The signing of a final contract awaited accord on changes in plant working practices. The current contract, covering 23,000 employes, was to expire Sept. 6. Negotiations had begun July 6.

The profit-sharing plan, called "progress-sharing" by the company, was announced jointly by UAW Pres. Walter P. Reuther and AM Vice Pres. Edward L. Cushman. Under the plan 10% of AM profits before taxes, after deduction of 10% of the stockholders' equity, would be made available to employes in cash or benefits. An additional 5% of the profits would be made available to the employes in the form of AM stock.

The negotiators also agreed Aug. 26 to: (a) continue the annual wage increase of 6c an hour or 2½% of base wage for each year of a 3-year contract (the average hourly wage for auto workers was $2.84); (b) continue the current cost-of-living (COL) wage formula with 12c of the current 17c hourly allowance built into the base wage; (c) transfer $3 million surplus from the joint insurance fund to the new profit-sharing fund; (d) liberalize retirement benefits; (e) improve weekly supplementary unemployment benefits by raising them to 62% of gross pay plus $1.50 per dependent up to 4 dependents (to a maximum payment of $40), by paying a 65% benefit for short work weeks, by increasing the duration to a maximum of 52 weeks (supplementary unemployment benefits were to be made only after expiration of jobless compensation payments); (f) provide short work-week benefits of ½ the base hourly rate for each hour by which the amount of work or pay available was less than 40 hours; (g) improve the hospital-medical insurance program by financing the employes' share out of the profit-sharing fund instead of out of the employes' wages and by providing ½ the cost of hospital-medical coverage for retirees; (h) increase from $5,000 to $9,000 the life insurance maximum and from $45.50 to $100 the weekly accident benefits; (i) provide moving allowances for workers transferred to plants in other cities. [See Vol. XVIII, p. 190A3]

Auto Negotiations. UAW bargaining sessions with the Big 3 automobile companies were started in Detroit with General Motors June 28, with Ford June 29 and with Chrysler June 30. The UAW represented 310,000 workers at GM, 120,000 at Ford and 60,000 at Chrysler.

In his original presentation of demands, Reuther stressed the need for the creation of additional job opportunities by reducing work time, the problems of job insecurity and his proposal for annual salaries for production workers. He told Chrysler negotiators June 30 that "Chrysler has no right to expect a union to subsidize deficiencies in the corporation which are management responsibilities." [See p. 58B2-A3]

Almost identical economic offers were made by the Big 3 to the UAW Aug. 22. Reuther described the offers as "woefully inadequate." The offers contained the same proposals for an annual wage increase and for the addition of 12¢ of the COL allowance to the base wage as the AM offer. But the UAW reportedly opposed the Big 3's suggestions of financing some programs with supplementary unemployment funds, of making COL adjustments annually instead of quarterly and of putting a 6¢-an-hour ceiling on COL adjustments over a 3-year period.

The UAW reported Aug. 28 that employes in the 3 companies' plants had voted overwhelmingly in favor of a walkout if it were necessary. Reuther announced Aug. 29 that the UAW had agreed to extend the contract negotiations 6 days beyond the contract expiration date of Aug. 31. He said it had done so at the request of William E. Simkin, Federal Mediation & Conciliation Service director. [See p. 152G2-B3]

— LATIN AMERICA —

Argentina

Mugica Resigns. Adolfo Mugica resigned as Argentine foreign minister Aug. 28 in a controversy involving recent meetings between Cuban Industry Min. Ernesto Guevara and Robert Goodwin, U.S. Presidential assistant for Latin American affairs, and between Guevara and Pres. Arturo Frondizi.

Mugica had been criticized in government circles for asserting Aug. 22 that the Goodwin-Guevara meeting in Montevideo, Uruguay Aug. 16, held during the Inter-American Economic & Social Conference at nearby Punta del Este, had shown that Cuba sought better relations with the U.S. (Goodwin had explained that his meeting with Guevara was accidental, and the U.S. government had described the meeting as politically insignificant.) In his letter of resignation to Frondizi, Mugica said he was leaving his post to avoid "trouble" between Argentina "and a friendly country" (the U.S.). Mugica said the U.S. had tried to minimize the significance of the meeting.

Mugica's resignation reportedly had been sought by Argentina's 3 armed forces secretaries, who said he had arranged the secret meeting held by Frondizi with Guevara in Buenos Aires Aug. 18. [See p. 298A3]

Bolivia

New Constitution. A new Bolivian constitution went into effect Aug. 5 as Pres. Victor Paz Estenssoro, Vice Pres. Juan Lechin and cabinet and congress members participated in La Paz ceremonies in which they swore allegiance to the new laws.

The constitution, approved during a special congressional session earlier in 1961, provided for: (a) Authority for the president and cabinet to impose taxes and appoint judges, a power previously held by congress. (b) A Bolivian Roman Catholic church independent of the government. (Under the old constitution, the government had the power to appoint archbishops and to disburse state-owned church properties.) (c) A change in electoral laws to permit reelection of the president. (d) Incorporation of the militia into the regular army. (e) Abolition of capital punishment.

Opposition parties had charged that the new constitution was invalid on the ground that it should have been approved by a specially-elected congress.

Army Rules Santa Cruz. The Bolivian army moved into Santa Cruz de la Sierra Aug. 2 and ended the city's control by the local militia. The army acted under an Aug. 2 government decree declaring the Santa Cruz department a military zone. The government action was aimed at limiting the role of opposition political party leader Luis Sandoval Moron, whose group had controlled all civil and political activities in the department. [See p. 228D3]

British Guiana

Jagan Party Elected. Dr. Cheddi Berret Jagan's leftist People's Progressive party (PPP) won 20 of British Guiana's 35 Legislative Council seats Aug. 21 in nation-wide elections in which about 80% of 247,800 eligible voters participated. (Jagan also was reelected to the council.)

The moderately socialist People's National Congress party, headed by Forbes Burnham, won 11 seats and the rightist United Force, led by Peter d'Aguiar, 4. The PPP gained control of the State Council by winning 8 of the upper chamber's 13 seats.

The elections were the first under a new British constitution granting the colony domestic self-rule and the right to seek complete independence in 1962. Jagan conferred in Georgetown Aug. 25 with Sir Ralph Gray, British governor, on the formation of a new government. The new cabinet was to include not more than 3 State Council members and no fewer than 6 Legislative Council members, including Jagan.

Jagan Aug. 27 called on Britain to grant British Guiana immediate independence. [See Vol. XVII, p. 311G1]

Chile

Plotters Arrested. The Interior Ministry reported Aug. 26 that the government had arrested 35 persons and seized a supply of weapons in crushing an anti-government "subversive plot" by "leftist" politicians. Interior Undersecy. Jaime Silva, reporting that the plot "apparently was centered in the northern sector" of Chile, said that the Illabel and Coquimbo regions had been declared rebellious areas and that National Police commanders there had been appointed military governors.

Pres. Jorge Alesandri Aug. 23 had ordered military control imposed on 5 provinces beset by copper, steel and railroad strikes. The provinces were Santiago, Valparaiso, Talcahuano, Concepcion and Osorno. [See p. 259E1]

Cuba

Economic Shortages. Premier Castro said at the opening session of a 3-day "criticism" meeting of the National Production Congress in Havana Aug. 26 that Cuba was beset by

shortages of food and consumer products. He blamed the deficiencies on increased buying power rather than on a drop in production.

The meetings attended by officials connected with farm and industrial production, were ordered by a decree issued jointly by the government and the National Directorate of the ORI (Integrated Revolutionary Organization), Castro's new political party formed by a merger of his 26th of July Movement and the Communist Party. The decree said the meetings were to be devoted to the "development of production and supply and the correction of deficiencies."

Industry Min. Ernesto Guevara reported at the meeting Aug. 27 that many Cuban factories had been forced to shut down because of shortages of raw materials and spare parts, previously obtained from the U.S. Only 2 out of 40 state industrial enterprises had met their 1961 production goals, but some of them had exceeded their 1960 production figures, Guevara said.

Guevara said Cuban militiamen were often called to active duty without regard to their important work in factories or farm cooperatives. He said he was not opposed to militia mobilization when necessitated by defense needs, but he criticized the militia for what he called (a) arbitrary commandeering of work vehicles, (b) provision of luxury for militiamen and (c) wasting of food.

Castro interrupted Guevara's speech to praise the militia's rôle in Cuban life. He promised measures to minimize the effect of its activities on the Cuban economy. [See p. 243E3]

Guantanamo Pacts Attacked. The U.S.' right to retain its naval base at Guantanamo was challenged Aug. 24 by Mario Garcia-Inchaustegui, chief Cuban delegate to the UN. Speaking at a special session of the UN General Assembly on Bizerte, Garcia denounced the 1903 and 1934 U.S.-Cuban Guantanamo treaties. He said: "Neither under law nor under international morality can any validity . . . be given to documents signed for the purpose of diminishing the sovereignty of states"; nations "cannot be sovereign if they are forced to admit foreign military forces in their territory"; "mercenaries are being concentrated at Guantanamo and in Puerto Rico to be used later against small independent states."

U.S. Amb.-to-UN Adlai E. Stevenson, terming Garcia's challenge to the Guantanamo treaty "an extraordinary new doctrine of international . . . lawlessness," called it "a normal exercise of sovereignty" for nations to negotiate defense agreements. Stevenson dismissed as "false and absurd" Garcia's charge that the U.S. used the base for aggressive purposes. [See p. 159E1]

Dominican Republic

New Armed Forces Head. The Dominican consulate general in New York announced Aug. 3 that Dr. Francisco Gonzalez-Cruz, 48, army medical corps director, had been appointed armed forces secretary. He replaced Maj. Gen. Santos Melido Marte Pichardo, who reportedly had returned to active army duty. As armed force secretary, Gonzalez-Cruz was next in line for the presidency. [See p. 200D2]

Haiti

3 Deputies Ousted. The Haitian Legislative Assembly voted July 31 to oust Deputies Lavoisier Lamothe, Oriol Eustache and Roger St. Fort, followers of Pres. François Duvalier, on charges of failing to exercise proper duty and discipline. [See p. 210C3]

SPORTS

Baseball. Harry (Cookie) Lavagetto, 48, was dismissed as Minnesota Twins manager June 23. He was replaced by Twins coach Sam (Sabath Anthony) Mele, 38. . . . Frank Lane was dismissed as Kansas City Athletics general manager Aug. 22. [See p. 32D2]

Player trades: pitchers Ryne Duren and Johnny James, 28, and outfielder Leroy Thomas, 25, from New York to Los Angeles Angels for outfielder Bob Cerv, 35, and pitcher Truman (Tex) Clevenger, 28, May 8; outfielder Gene Stephens, 28, from Baltimore to Kansas City for first baseman-outfielder Marv Throneberry, 27, June 8; pitcher Art Ditmar, 31, and infielder Deron Johnson, 23, from New York to Kansas City for pitcher Bud Daley, 28, June 14; pitcher Danny McDevitt from New York to Minnesota for infielder Billy Graham, 34, June 14. [See Vol. XX, p. 463F2]

Horse Racing. Mrs. Moody Jolley's Ridan, Bill Hartack up, won the $211,750 Arlington Futurity in Chicago July 29, for $127,050. [See Vol. XX, p. 276B2]

Hugh Grant's Airmans Guide, Howard Grant up, won the $159,687 Delaware Handicap at Stanton, Del. July 29, for $104,687. [See Vol. XX, p. 284D2]

Bohemia Stable's Kelso, Eddie Arcaro up, won the $119,900 Suburban Handicap at Aqueduct July 6, for $72,735. [See Vol. XIX, p. 356D1]

Brookmeade Stable's Bowl of Flowers, Arcaro up, won the $116,625 American Oaks, at Belmont, N.Y. June 24, for $75,806.

Milton Ritzenberg's Wise Ship, Heliodoro Gustines up, won the $100,000 Man o' War Handicap at Aqueduct (N.Y.) July 29, for $65,000. [See Vol. XX, p. 444C3]

Wheatley Stable's Batter Up, Hedley J. Woodhouse up, won the $100,000 Sorority Stakes at Oceanport, N.J. July 29, for $60,000. [See Vol. XX, p. 284E2]

Swimming. Mary Stewart, 15, of Vancouver, B.C. swam the 110-yd. butterfly stroke in world record time of 1 min. 10 sec. in a Pacific Northwest Amateur Athletic Union swimming meet at Tacoma, Wash. July 8.

Barbara Goebel, 19, and Karin Beyer, both of East Germany, swam the 110-yd. breast-stroke in women's world record time of 1 min. 19.5 sec. and 1 min. 20.1 sec., respectively, in a meet against a British team at Blackpool, England July 14. The East German team of Miss Goebel, Ingrid Schmidt, Baerbel Fuhrmann and Helga Pechstein swam the 440-yd. medley relay in women's world record time of 4 min. 50.1 sec. in Blackpool July 14.

World records set in the Evansville (Ind.) Jaycees open meet: July 15—200-meter breaststroke in 2:35.3 by Chet Jastremski, 20,, of Indiana University; 200-meter back-stroke in 2:15.1 by Tom Stock of Indiana. July 16—100-meter breaststroke in 1:10 sec. by Jastremski.

Herman Willemse of the Netherlands won the 25-mile swim around Absecon Island, N.J. in 11 hr. 14 min. 45 sec. July 25, for $5,000. [See Vol. XX, p. 292E2]

Tennis. Rod Laver of Australia defeated Chuck McKinley, 20, of St. Louis by 6-3, 6-1, 6-4 in the men's singles finals of the All-England tourney in Wimbledon (London) July 7. Angela Mortimer of Britain won the women's singles title July 8 by defeating Christine Truman, 20, also of Britain, 4-6, 6-4, 7-5. Doubles title winners July 8: Neale Fraser and Roy Emerson of Australia (men's), Karen Hantze, 18, of Chula Vista, Calif. and Billie Jean Moffitt, 17, of Long Beach, Calif. (women's), Freddie Stolle and Lesley Turner of Australia (mixed). [See Vol. XX, p. 240F2]

The U.S. recaptured the Wightman Cup from Britain, 6 matches to one. in Chicago Aug. 20. [See Vol. XX, p. 208F2]

Bernard (Tut) Bartzen, 33, of Dallas, Tex. defeated Donald Dell, of Bethesda, Md. by 6-2, 2-6, 6-2, 6-0 in Chicago to win the national clay courts title July 23. Edda Buding, 24, of Cologne, West Germany defeated Miss Hantze, 6-4, 2-6, 6-4, to win the women's title. [See Vol. XX, p. 268C2]

Track & Field. Southern California won the team title in the 40th annual National Collegiate Athletic track and field championships in Philadelphia June 16-17. Oregon was 2d, Villanova 3d. [See Vol. XX, p. 224F1]

Frank Budd, 21, of Villanova ran 100 yards in the world record time of 9.2 sec. in the AAU national championships in New York June 24. The Southern California Striders won the team title June 25. [See p. 196D2]

Murray Halberg, 28, of New Zealand ran 2 miles in the world record time of 8 min. 30 sec. at an international meet at Jyvaeskylae, Finland July 7. Halberg ran 3 miles in the world record time of 13 min. 10 sec. at an international meet in Stockholm July 25. [See Vol. XVIII, pp. 264B2, 232F3]

Yolanda Balas of Rumania broke her own world highjump record for women with a leap of 6 ft. 2¾ in. in Budapest July 8. [See Vol. XX, p. 316A2]

MISCELLANEOUS

X-15 Record Revised. The NASA reported June 28 that a check of radar data had shown that AF Maj. Robert White had flown the experimental X-15 June 23 at a speed of 3,603 mph. and not 3,690 mph. as first reported. The revised figure was still a world record for winged planes. [See p. 265B2]

Czech Mine Disaster. A gas explosion in a coal mine in Dulna Suce, Czechoslovakia July 8 killed 108 miners. [See p. 88D3]

1961 Soviet Communist Party Program

(Partial text of draft program of Communist Party of Soviet Union. Translation by Tass, official Soviet news agency. Abridgement by Facts on File.)

Introduction

The great October Socialist Revolution ushered in a new era in the history of mankind, the era of the downfall of capitalism and the establishment of communism. Socialism has triumphed in the Soviet Union and has achieved decisive victories in the people's democracies. . . .

More than 100 years ago Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels . . . wrote in the "Communist Manifesto": "A specter is haunting Europe, the specter of communism." . . . A tremendously long road . . . had to be traversed before communism . . . became the great force of modern times, a type of society that is being built up over vast areas of the globe.

In the early 20th century the center of the international revolutionary movement shifted to Russia. Russia's heroic working class, led by the Bolshevik party headed by Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, became its vanguard. The Communist Party inspired and led the socialist revolution; it was the organizer and leader of the first workers' and peasants' state in history. . . .

In adopting its first program at its 2d Congress in 1903 the Bolshevik party called on the working class and all working people of Russia to fight for the overthrow of the Czarist autocracy and then of the bourgeois-landlord system and for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In Feb. 1917, the Czarist régime was swept away. In Oct. 1917, the proletarian revolution abolished the capitalist system. . . . A Socialist country came into being for the first time in history. The creation of a new world began.

The first program of the party had been carried out.

Adopting its 2d program at the 8th Congress in 1919, the party promulgated the task of building a Socialist society. . . . The Soviet people under the leadership of the Comunist Party put into practice the plan for Socialist construction drawn up by Lenin. Socialism triumphed in the Soviet Union completely and finally.

The 2d program of the party has likewise been carried out.

The gigantic revolutionary exploits acomplished by the Soviet people roused and inspired the masses in all countries and continents. . . . The Socialist revolution in European and Asian countries has resulted in the establishment of the world Socialist system. A powerful wave of national liberation revolutions is sweeping away the colonial system of imperialism.

⅓ of mankind is building a new life under the banner of scientific communism. . . . The Socialist world is expanding; the capitalist world is shrinking. Socialism will inevitably succeed capitalism everywhere. Such is the objective law of social development. . . .

Our effort, whose main content is the transition from capitalism to socialism, is an effort and struggle between the 2 opposing social systems, an effort of Socialist and national liberation revolutions, of the breakdown of imperialism and the abolition of the colonial system, an effort of the transition of more and more people to the Socialist path, of the triumph of socialism and communism on a worldwide scale. . . .

Today the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) is adopting its 3d program, a program for the building of Communist society. The new program is a constructive generalization of the experience of Socialist constructions; it takes account of the revolutionary movement throughout the world and . . . defines the main tasks and principal stages of Communist construction.

The supreme goal of the party is to build a Communist society on whose banner will be inscribed: "From each acording to his ability, to each according to his needs." The party's motto, "Everything in the name of man, for the benefit of man," will be put into effect in full. . . .

Part One

THE TRANSITION FROM CAPITALISM TO COMMUNISM IS THE ROAD OF HUMAN PROGRESS.

1. The Historical Necessity of the Transition from Capitalism to Socialism

The epoch-making turn of mankind from capitalism to socialism, initiated by the October Revolution, is a natural result of the development of society. Marxism-Leninism discovered the objective laws of social development and revealed the contradictions inherent in capitalism, the inevitability of their bringing about a revolutionary explosion and of the transition of society to communism.

Capitalism is the last exploiting system. Having developed its productive forces to an enormous extent, it became a tremendous obstacle to social progress. Capitalism alone is responsible for the fact that the 20th century, a century of colossal growth of the productive forces and of great scientific progress, has not yet put an end to the poverty of hundreds of millions of people, has not provided an abundance of material and spiritual values for all men on earth. . . .

Under capitalism, the basic and decisive means of production belong to the numerically small capitalist class, while the vast majority of the population consists of proletarians and semi-proletarians, who own no means of production and are therefore compelled to sell their labor-power and by their labor create profits and riches for the ruling classes of society. . . .

The development of large-scale capitalist production—production for profit, for the appropriation of surplus value—leads to the elimination of small independent producers. . . . The economic laws of its [capitalism's] development necessarily give rise to a huge reserve army of unemployed, which is constantly replenished by ruined peasants and urban petty bourgeoisie. The exploitation of the working people is continuously increasing, social inequality is becoming more and more marked . . . and the sufferings and privations of the millions are growing worse.

Capitalism, by concentrating millions of workers in its factories, socializing the process of labor, imparts a social character to production; nevertheless it is the capitalists who appropriate the fruits of labor. This fundamental contradiction of capitalism . . . manifests itself in production anarchy and in the fact that the purchasing power of society falls short of the expansion of production and leads periodically to destructive economic crises. . . .

The working class, which is the most consistent revolutionary class, is the chief motive force of the revolutionary tranformation of the world. . . . In fulfilling its historic mission as the revolutionary remaker of the old society and creator of a new system, the working class has become the exponent, not only of its own class interests, but of the interests of all working people. It is the natural leader of all forces fighting against capitalism.

The dictatorship of the proletariat and the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party are indispensable conditions for the triumph of the Socialist revolution and the building of socialism. . . .

Capitalism has entered its final stage, the stage of monopoly capitalism, of imperialism. . . .

Imperialism is decaying and moribund capitalism; it is the eve of the Socialist revolution. The world capitalist system as a whole is ripe for the social revolution of the proletariat. . . .

The revolutionary defeat of imperialism does not take place all over the world simultaneously. . . .

V. I. Lenin developed the theory of the Socialist revolution in new historical conditions, elaborated the theory of the possibility of socialism triumphing first in one capitalist country taken singly.

Russia was the weakest link in the imperialist system and the focal point of all its contradictions. On the other hand, she had all the conditions neces-

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sary for the victory of socialism. Her working class was the most revolutionary and best organized in the world and had considerable experience of class struggle. It was led by a Marxist-Leninist party armed with an advanced, revolutionary theory and steeled in class battles. . . .

2. Historic Significance of the October Revolution and of the Victory of Socialism in the USSR

The great October Revolution breached the imperialist front in Russia, . . . firmly established the dictatorship of the proletariat and created a new type of state—the Soviet state—and a new type of democracy—democracy for the working people. . . .

The October Revolution undermined the economic basis of a system of exploitation and social injustice. Soviet power nationalized industry, the railways, banks and the land. It abolished landed proprietorship and fulfilled the peasants' age-long dream of land. . . .

The Socialist revolution in Russia shook the entire structure of world capitalism to its very foundations; the world split into 2 opposing systems.

For the first time there emerged in the international arena a state which put forward the great slogan of peace and began carrying through new principles in relations between peoples and countries. . . .

. . . The reactionary forces of the old world did all they could to strangle the Soviet state at its birth. . . .

The enemies of Leninism maintained that Russia was not mature enough for a Socialist revolution, that it was impossible to build socialism in one country. But the enemies of Leninism were put to shame. . . .

The party proved equal to that historic task. . . . On the basis of a thorough scientific analysis, Lenin elaborated the policy of the proletarian state for the entire period of transition from capitalism to socialism. He evolved the New Economic Policy (NEP), designed to bring about the victory of socialism. . . .

The party upheld that plan in an acute struggle against skeptics and capitulators, against the Trotskyists, Right opportunists, nationalist-deviators and other hostile groups. . . .

The point at issue at the time was: either perish or forge full steam ahead and overtake the capitalist countries economically.

The Soviet state had first of all to solve the problem of industrialization. In a historically brief period, without outside help, the Soviet Union built up a large-scale modern industry. By the time it had fulfilled 3 5-year plans (1928-1941) the Soviet Union had become a mighty industrial power that had achieved complete economic independence from the capitalist countries. . . .

Led by the party, aided and fully supported by the working class, the peasantry took the road to socialism. Millions of small individual farms went into voluntary association to form collective farms. A large number of Soviet state farms and machine and tractor stations were established. . . .

To build socialism it was necessary to raise the cultural level of the people; that task too was accomplished. A cultural revolution was carried out in the country. It freed the working people from spiritual slavery and ignorance and gave them access to the cultural values accumulated by mankind. . . .

Socialism, which Marx and Engels scientifically predicted as inevitable and the plan for the construction of which was mapped out by Lenin, has become a reality in the Soviet Union. . . .

The Socialist principle "From each according to his abilities, to each according to his work" has been put into effect in the Soviet Union. . . .

The entire life of Socialist society is based on the principle of broad democracy. Working people take an active part, through the Soviets, trade unions and other mass organizations, in managing the affairs of the state and in solving problems of economic and cultural advancement. Socialist democracy includes both political freedoms—freedom of speech, of the press and of assembly, the right to elect and to be elected and also social rights—the right to work, to rest and leisure, to education, to material security in old age and in case of illness or disability; equality of citizens of all races and nationalities; equal rights for women and men in all spheres of political, economic and cultural activity. Socialist democracy, unlike bourgeois democracy, does not merely proclaim the rights of the people, but makes it really possible for the people to exercise them. Soviet society insures the real liberty of the individual. The highest manifestation of this liberty is man's emancipation from exploitation, which is what primarily constitutes genuine social justice.

Socialism has created conditions for the rapid progress of science. . . . The man-made satellites of the earth and the sun, powerful space rockets and interplanetary space ships, atomic power stations and the first triumphal orbiting of the globe, accomplished by a Soviet citizen, . . . have become symbols of the creative energy of ascendant communism.

The solution of the national question is one of the greatest achievements of socialism. This question is of especial importance to a country like the Soviet Union, inhabited by more than a hundred nations and nationalities. Socialist society has not only guaranteed the political equality of nations, but has also abolished the economic and cultural backwardness inherited from the old system. . . .

The Soviet people were destined by history to start on a new road, to blaze a new path of social development. This required special efforts of them, a continuous quest for forms and methods of building the new society which had to be tested in the crucible of practice. For nearly 2 out of little more than 4 decades, the Soviet people were compelled to devote their energies to the repulsion of invasions by the imperialist powers and to post-war economic rehabilitation. The Soviet system was put to a particularly severe test during the Great Patriotic War, the most trying war in history. By winning that war, the Soviet people proved that there are no forces in the world capable of stopping the progress of Socialist society. . . .

Soviet experience has shown that the peoples are able to achieve socialism only as a result of the Socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. . . .

Soviet experience has shown that socialism alone can put an end to the exploitation of man by man, production anarchy, economic crises, unemployment and the poverty of the people, and insure planned, continuous and rapid development of the economy and steady improvement of the people's standard of living.

Soviet experience has shown that the working class can fulfill its historical mission as the builder of a new society only in a sound alliance with the non-proletarian working masses, primarily the peasantry.

Soviet experience has shown that the victory of the Socialist revolution alone provides all possibilities and conditions for the abolition of all national oppression, for the voluntary union of free and equal nations and nationalities in a single state.

Soviet experience has shown that the Socialist state is the main instrument for the Socialist transformation of society. . . .

Soviet experience has shown that socialism and peace are inseparable. The might of socialism serves peace. . . .

Soviet experience has fully borne out the Marxist-Leninist theory that the Communist Party plays a decisive role in the formation and development of Socialist society. . . .

Soviet experience has shown that fidelity to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, of proletarian internationalism . . . are imperative conditions for the victory of socialism. . . .

3. The World Socialist System

The Soviet Union is not pursuing the tasks of Communist construction alone but in fraternal community with the other Socialist countries.

The defeat of German fascism and Japanese militarism in World War II . . . created favorable conditions for the overthrow of capitalist and landlord rule by the peoples in a number of European and Asian countries. . . . Yugoslavia likewise took the Socialist path. But the Yugoslav leaders by revisionist policy contraposed Yugoslavia to the Socialist camp and the international Communist movement, thus threatening the loss of the revolutionary gains of the Yugoslav people.

The Socialist revolutions in Europe and Asia dealt imperialism a further powerful blow. . . . The revolutions in European and Asian countries are

the biggest event in world history since Oct. 1917.

A new form of political organization of society, people's democracy, a variety of the dictatorship of the proletariat, emerged. . . .

There emerged a world Socialist system, a social, economic and political community of free sovereign peoples pursuing the Socialist and Communist path, united by common interests and goals and the close bonds of international Socialist solidarity. . . .

The combined forces of the Socialist camp guarantee each Socialist country against encroachments of imperialist reaction. The consolidation of the Socialist countries in a single camp, its increasing unity and steadily growing strength, ensure the complete victory of socialism within the framework of the system as a whole. . . .

It has been borne out in practice and recognized by all Marxist-Leninist parties that the processes of Socialist revolution and construction are founded on a number of basic objective laws applicable to all countries entering upon the Socialist path. . . .

. . . The distinctive features of the relations existing between the countries of the Socialist community are complete equality, respect for independence and sovereignty and fraternal mutual assistance. . . . In the world community of Socialist countries, none have, nor can have, any special rights or privileges.

The experience of the world Socialist system has confirmed the need for the closest unity of countries that fall away from capitalism, for their united effort in the building of socialism and communism. The line of Socialist construction in isolation, detached from the world community of Socialist countries, is theoretically untenable because it conflicts with the objective laws governing the development of Socialist society. . . .

. . . The world capitalist system emerged and developed in fierce struggle between the countries composing it, through the subjection and exploitation of the weaker countries by the strong, through the enslavement of hundreds of millions of people and the reduction of entire continents to the status of colonial appendages of the imperialist metropolitan countries. The formation and development of the world Socialist system, on the other hand, proceeds on the basis of sovereignty and free will and in conformity with the fundamental interests of the working people of all the countries of that system. . . .

All the Socialist countries make their contribution to the building and development of the world Socialist system and the consolidation of its might. The existence of the Soviet Union greatly facilitates and accelerates the building of socialism in the people's democracies. . . .

The cooperation of the Socialist countries enables each country to use its resources and develop its productive forces to the full and in the most rational manner. A new type of international division of labor is taking shape in the process of the economic, scientific and technical cooperation of the Socialist countries, the coordination of their economic plan, the specialization and combination of production.

The establishment of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and, later, of the world Socialist system is the commencement of the historical process of an all-round association of peoples. . . .

The experience of the Soviet Union and the people's democracies has confirmed the accuracy of Lenin's thesis that the class struggle does not disappear in the period of the building of socialism. . . .

Nationalism is the chief political and ideological weapon used by international reaction and the remnants of the domestic reactionary forces against the unity of the Socialist countries. . . .

. . . Yet while they oppose nationalism and national egoism, Communists always show utmost consideration for the national feelings of the masses.

The world Socialist system is advancing steadfastly toward decisive victory in its economic competition with capitalism. It will shortly surpass the world captalist system in aggregate industrial and agricultural production. . . .

4. Crisis of World Capitalism

Imperialism has entered the period of decline and collapse. The inexorable process of decay has seized capitalism from top to bottom—its economic and political system, its politics and ideology. Imperialism has forever lost its power over the bulk of mankind. The main content, main trend and main features of the historical development of mankind are being determined by the world Socialist system. . . .

World War I and the October Revolution ushered in the general crisis of capitalism. The 2d stage of this crisis developed at the time of World War II and the Socialist revolutions in a number of European and Asian countries. World capitalism has now entered a new, 3d stage of that crisis, the principal feature of which is that its development was not due to a world war. . . .

In the imperialist stage state-monopoly capitalism comes to the fore. The emergence and growth of monopolies leads to the direct intervention of the state, in the interests of the financial oligarchy, in the process of capitalist reproduction. It is in the interests of the financial oligarchy that the bourgeois state institutes various types of regulation and resorts to the nationalization of some branches of the economy. . . .

The oppression of finance capital keeps growing. Giant monopolies controlling the bulk of social production dominate the life of the nation. A handful of millionaires and multimillionaires wield arbitrary power over the entire wealth of the capitalist world and make the life of entire nations mere small change in their selfish deals. . . .

The state is becoming a committee for the management of the affairs of the monopoly bourgeoisie. . . .

The proponents of social-democratism and revisionism are making out state-monopoly capitalism to be socialism. The facts give the lie to this contention. State-monopoly capitalism does not change the nature of imperialism. . . . It widens the rift between labor and capital. . . .

Attempts at state regulation of the capitalist economy cannot eliminate competition and anarchy of production, cannot insure the planned development of the economy on a nationwide scale because capitalist ownership and exploitation of wage-labor remain the basis of production. . . .

The new phenomena in imperialist development corroborate the accuracy of Lenin's conclusions on the principal objective laws of capitalism in its final stage and on its increasing decay. Yet this decay does not signify complete stagnation . . . and does not rule out growth of capitalist economy at particular times and in particular countries.

All in all, capitalism is increasingly impeding the development of the contemporary productive forces. Mankind is entering the period of a great scientific and technical revolution. . . . Socialism alone is capable of effecting it and of applying its fruits in the interests of society.

Technical progress under the rule of monopoly capital is turning against the working class. . . . Capitalist automation is robbing the worker of his daily bread. Unemployment is rising, the living standard is dropping. . . .

Modern capitalism has made the market problem extremely acute. Imperialism is incapable of solving it, because lag of effective demand behind growth of production is one of its objective laws. Moreover, it retards the industrial development of the underdeveloped countries The world capitalist market is shrinking relative to the more rapidly expanding production capacity. . . .

Monopoly capital has, in the final analysis, doomed bourgeois society to a low rate of production growth. . . . A considerable part of the production plant stands idle, while millions of unemployed wait at the factory gates. Farm production is artifically restricted although millions are underfed in the world. People suffer want in material goods, but imperialism is squandering them on war preparations. . . .

State-monopoly capitalism stimulates militarism to an unheard-of degree. . . .

While enriching some groups of the monopoly bourgeoisie, militarism leads to the exhaustion of nations, to the ruin of the peoples languishing under an excessive tax burden, mounting inflation and a high cost of living. Within the lifetime of one generation imperialism plunged mankind into the abyss of 2 destructive world wars. . . . The new war being hatched by the imperialists threatens mankind with

unprecedented human losses and destruction. . . .

Fear of revolution, the successes of the Socialist countries and the pressure of the working-class movement compel the bourgeoisie to make partial concessions with respect to wages, labor conditions and social security....

Even the relatively high standard of living in the small group of capitalistically developed countries rests upon the poverty of the Asian, African and Latin-American peoples, upon non-equivalent exchange, discrimination of female labor, brutal oppression of Negroes and immigrant workers, and also upon the intensified exploitation of the working people in those countries.

The bourgeois myth of "full employment" has proved to be sheer mockery, for the working class is suffering continuously from mass unemployment and insecurity. . . .

The development of capitalism has dissipated the legend of the stability of small peasant farming. . . . The monopolies have seized dominant positions in agriculture as well. Millions of farmers and peasants are being driven off the land, and their farms are being brought under the hammer....

The uneven development of capitalism alters the balance of forces between countries and makes the contradictions between them more acute. The economic and with it the political and military center of imperialism has shifted from Europe to the United States. United States monopoly capital . . . has seized the main sources of raw materials, the markets and the spheres of investment, has built up a covert colonial empire and become the biggest international exploiter. . . . United States imperialism is in effect performing the function of a world gendarme, supporting reactionary dictatorial regimes and decayed monarchies, opposing democratic, revolutionary changes and launching aggressions against peoples fighting for independence.

The United States monopoly bourgeoisie is the mainstay of international reaction. . . . The United States financial tycoons are engineering a "holy alliance" of imperialists and founding aggressive military blocs. . . .

The contradictions between the principal imperialist powers are growing deeper. . . . The Anglo-American, Franco - American, Franco - German, American - German, Anglo - German, Japanese-American and other contradictions are becoming especially acute. . . .

The American monopolies and their British and French allies are openly assisting the resurgence of West German imperialism, which is cynically advocating aggressive aims of revenge and preparing a war against the Socialist countries and other European states. . . .

Contemporary capitalism is inimical to the vital interests and progressive aspirations of all mankind. Capitalism with its exploitation of man by man, with its chauvinist and racist ideology, with its moral degradation, its rampage of profiteering, corruption and crime is defiling society, the family, and man.

The bourgeois system came into being with the alluring slogans of liberty, equality, fraternity. But the bourgeoisie made use of these slogans merely to elbow out the feudal gentry and to assume power. Instead of equality a new gaping abyss of social and economic inequality appeared. Not fraternity but ferocious class struggle reigns in bourgeois society. . . .

The ideologists of imperialism hide the dictatorship of monopoly capital behind specious slogans of freedom and democracy. They declare the imperialist powers to be countries of the "free world" and represent the ruling bourgeois circles. . . .

The bourgeoisie gives extensive publicity to the allegedly democratic nature of its election laws, singing special praise to its multi-party system and the possibility of nominating many candidates In reality, however, the monopolists deprive the masses of the opportunity to express their will and elect genuine champions of their interests. . . . They mislead the masses, imposing their own candidates upon the electorate. The different bourgeois parties are usually not more than different factions of the ruling bourgeoisie.

The dictatorship of the bourgeoisie also grossly violates the will of the electorate. . . .

The financial oligarchy resorts to the establishment of Fascist régimes . . . particularly when the masses try to make use even of their democratic rights. . . .

Thus, the world imperialist system is rent by deep-rooted and acute contradictions. . . .

Not even nuclear weapons can protect the monopoly bourgeoisie from the unalterable course of historical development. . . .

5. International Revolutionary Movement of the Working Class

. . . The example of victorious socialism has a revolutionizing effect on the minds of the working people of the capitalist world; it inspires them to fight against imperialism and greatly facilitates the struggle.

. . . A new contingent of the world proletariat—the young working-class movement of the newly-free, dependent and colonial countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America—has entered the world arena. Marxist-Leninist parties have arisen and matured. They are becoming a universally recognized national force enjoying ever greater prestige and followed by large sections of the working people. . . .

The capitalist countries are continuously shaken by class battles. Militant actions of the working class in defense of its economic and political interests are growing in number. . . .

The reactionary forces in individual capitalist countries can no longer cope with the growing forces of democracy and socialism. Struggle and competition between the capitalist states do not prelude, however, a certain unity among them in the face of the increasing strength of socialism and the working-class movement. The imperialists form reactionary alliances; they enter into mutual agreements and set up military blocs and bases spearheaded not only against the Socialist countries, but also against the revolutional liberation movement. The reactionary bourgeoisie in a number of European states have in peacetime opened the doors of their countries to foreign troops. . . .

The world situation today is more favorable to the working-class movement. . . .

In the new historical situation, the working class of many countries can, even before capitalism is overthrown, compel the bourgeoisie to carry out measures that transcend ordinary reforms. . . . By uniting large sections of the working people, the working-class can make ruling circles cease preparations for a new world war, renounce the idea of starting local wars and use the economy for peaceful purposes. . . .

The capitalist monopolies are the chief enemy of the working class . . . [and] of the peasants, handicraftsmen and other small urban proprietors, of most office workers, intellectuals and small capitalists, and even of a section of the middle capitalists.

The working class directs its main blow against the capitalist monopolies. All the main sections of a nation have a vital interest in abolishing the unlimited power of the monopolies. This makes it possible to unite all the democratic movements opposing the oppression of the finance oligarchy....

The proletariat advances a political program for combating the power of the monopolies with due regard to the present as well as the future interests of its allies. It advocates broad nationalization on terms most favorable to the people, control by parliament, the trade unions and other democratic representative bodies over the nationalized industries and over the entire economic activity of the state. It backs the peasants' demands for radical land reforms and works for the realization of the slogan "The land to those who till it." . . .

It is in this struggle that the alliance of the working class and all working people is shaped. . . .

General democratic struggles against the monopolies do not delay the Socialist revolution but bring it nearer. The struggle for democracy is a component of the struggle for socialism. The broader the democratic movement, the higher becomes the level of the political consciousness of the masses and the more clearly they see that only socialism clears for them the way to genuine freedom and well-being. In the course of this struggle, Right-Socialist, reformist illusions are dispelled and a political army of the Socialist revolution is brought into being. . . .

The proletarian revolution in a country, being part of the world Socialist revolution, is accomplished by the working class of that country and the masses of its people. The revolution is not made to order. It cannot be imposed on the people from without. . . .

Together with the other Marxist-Leninist parties, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union regards it as its internationalist duty to call on the peoples of all countries to . . . firmly repel imperialist interference in the affairs of the people of any country risen to revolt and thereby prevent imperialist export of counter-revolution. . . .

Communists have never held that the road to revolution lies necessarily through wars between countries. Socialist revolution is not necesarily connected with war. . . . Revolutions are quite feasible without war. The great objectives of the working class can be realized without world war. Today the conditions for this are more favorable than ever.

The working class and its vanguard —the Marxist-Leninist parties—prefer to achieve the transfer of power from the bourgeoisie to the proletariat by peaceful means, without civil war. . . .

The working class, supported by the majority of the people, . . . can defeat the reactionary, anti-popular forces, win a solid majority in parliament, transform it from a tool serving the class interests of the bourgeoisie into an instrument serving the working people, launch a broad mass struggle outside parliament, smash the resistance of the reactionary forces and provide the necessary conditions for a peaceful Socialist revolution. . . .

Where the exploiting classes resort to violence against the people, the possibility of a non-peaceful transition to socialism should be borne in mind. Leninism maintains, and historical experience confirms, that the ruling classes do not yield power of their own free will. Hence, the degree of bitterness of the class struggle and the forms it takes will depend not so much on the proletariat as on the strength of the reactionary groups' resistance to the will of the overwhelming majority of the people, and on the use of force by these groups at a particular stage of the struggle for socialism. In each particular country the actual applicability of one method of transition to socialism or the other depends on concrete historical conditions.

It may well be that as the forces of socialism grow, the working-class movement gains strength and the positions of capitalism are weakened, there will arise in certain countries a situation in which it will be preferable for the bourgeosie, as Marx and Lenin foresaw it, to agree to the means of production being purchased from it and for the proletariat to "pay off" the bourgeoisie. . . .

. . . However varied the forms of a new, people's state power in the period of Socialist construction their essence will be the same — dictatorship of the proletariat, which represents genuine democracy, democracy for the working people. . . .

The dictatorship of the proletariat is a dictatorship of the overwhelming majority over the minority; it is directed against the exploiters, against the oppression of peoples and nations, and is aimed at abolishing all exploitation of man by man. . . . Its chief content is not violence but creation, the building of a new, classless society, and the defense of its gains against the enemies of socialism.

Overcoming the split in its ranks is an important condition for the working class to fulfill its historic mission. . . . The Communist parties favor cooperation with the Social-Democratic parties. . . .

At the same time Communists criticize the ideological positions and Right-opportunist practice of social-democracy and expose the Right Social-Democratic leaders, who have sided openly with the bourgeoisie and renounced the traditional Socialist demands of the working class. . . .

The Communist movement grows and becomes steeled as it fights against various opportunist trends. Revisionism, Right opportunism, which is a reflection of bourgeois influence, is the chief danger within the Communist movement today. . . . The ideology of revisionism is most fully embodied in the program of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

Another danger is dogmatism and sectarianism, which cannot be reconciled with a creative development of revolutionary theory [but would] lead to the dissociation and isolation of Communists from the masses of the working people, doom them to passive expectation or incite them to Leftist adventurist actions in the revolutionary struggle. . . .

The Communist parties are independent, and they shape their policies with due regard to the specific conditions prevailing in their own countries. They base relations between themselves on equality and the principles of proletarian internationalism. . . . The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, like the other Communist parties, regards it as its internationalist duty to abide by the appraisals and conclusion which the fraternal parties have reached jointly concerning their common tasks in the struggle against imperialism, for peace, democracy and socialism, and by the declaration and the statement adopted by the Communist parties at their international meetings. . . .

6. The National-Liberation Movement

. . . Imperialism suppressed the national independence and freedom of the majority of the peoples and put the fetters of brutal colonial slavery on them, but the rise of socialism marks the advent of the era of emancipation of the oppressed peoples. A powerful wave of national-liberation revolutions is sweeping away the colonial system and undermining the foundations of imperialism. Young sovereign states have arisen, or are arising, in one-time colonies or semi-colonies. . . .

. . . The peoples who are throwing off the shackles of colonialism have attained different levels of freedom. . . . The peoples of those formally independent countries that in reality depend on foreign monopolies politically and economically are rising to fight against imperialism and reactionary pro-imperialist régimes. The peoples who have not yet cast off the chains of colonial slavery are conducting a heroic struggle against their foreign enslavers.

The young sovereign states do not belong either to the system of imperialist states or to the system of Socialist states. But the overwhelming majority of them have not yet broken free from world capitalist economy even though they occupy a special place in it. . . .

The existence of the world Socialist system and the weakening of imperialism offer the peoples of the newly free countries the prospect of a national renascence, of ending age-long backwardness and poverty, and achieving economic independence. . . .

Foreign capital will retreat only before a broad union of patriotic democratic forces pursuing an anti-imperialist policy. The pillars of fuedalism will crumble only under the impact of a general democratic movement. None but far-reaching agrarian reforms and a broad peasant movement can sweep away those remnants of medievalism that fetter the development of the productive forces and solve the food problem . . . of Asia, Africa and Latin America. . . .

A consistent struggle against imperialism is a paramount condition for the solution of national tasks. Imperialism seeks to retain one-time colonies and semi-colonies within the system of capitalist economy and perpetuate their under-privileged position in it. United States imperialism is the chief bulwark of modern colonialism. . . .

A national-liberation revolution does not end with the winning of political independence. Independence will be unstable and will become fictitous unless the revolution brings about radical changes in the social and economic spheres and solves the pressing problems of national rebirth.

The working class is the most consistent fighter for the consummation of the revolution. . . . The alliance of the working class and the peasantry is the fundamental condition for the success of the struggle to carry out far reaching democratic changes and achieve economic and social progress. This alliance must form the core of a broad national front. . . .

In many countries, the liberation movement of the peoples that have awakened proceeds under the flag of nationalism. Marxists-Leninists draw a distinction between the nationalism of the oppressed nations and that of the oppressor nations. The nationalism of an oppressed nation contains a gen-

eral democratic element directed against oppression, and Communists support it because they consider it historically justified at a given stage....

The national bourgeoisie is dual in character. In modern conditions the national bourgeoisie in those colonial, one-time colonial and dependent countries where it is not connected with the imperialist circles is objectively interested in accomplishing the basic tasks of an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution. . . .

But as the contradictions between the working people and the propertied classes grow and the class struggle inside the country becomes more aggravated, the national bourgeoisie shows an increasing inclination to compromise with imperialism and domestic reaction....

One of the basic issues confronting these peoples is, which road of development . . . to take, whether the capitalist road or the noncapitalist. . . .

Capitalism is the road of suffering for the people. It will not insure rapid economic progress nor eliminate poverty; social inequality will increase. The capitalist development of the countryside will ruin the peasantry still more. . . .

Socialism is the road to freedom and happiness for the peoples. It insures rapid economic and cultural progress. It transforms a backward country within the lifetime of one generation. . . . Planned Socialist economy is an economy of progress and prosperity by its very nature. . . .

It is for the peoples themselves to decide which road they are to choose. In view of the present balance of the world forces and the actual feasibility of powerful support on the part of the world Socialist system, the peoples of the former colonies can decide this question in their own interest....

The national states become ever more active as an independent force on the world scene; objectively, this force is in the main a progressive, revolutionary and anti-imperialist force. The countries and peoples that are now free from colonial oppression are to play a prominent part in the prevention of a new world war—the focal problem of today....

The CPSU considers fraternal alliance with the peoples who have thrown off colonial or semi-colonial tyranny to be a cornerstone of its international policy. This alliance is based on the common vital interests of world socialism and the world national-liberation movement. The CPSU regards it as its internationalist duty to assist the peoples who have set out to win and strengthen their national independence, all peoples who are fighting for the complete abolition of the colonial system.

7. The Struggle Against Bourgeois and Reformist Ideology

A grim struggle is going on between 2 ideologies—Communist and bourgeois—in the world today. . . .

The new historic epoch has brought the revolutionary world outlook of the proletariat a genuine triumph. Marxism-Leninism has gripped the minds of progressive mankind.

Bourgeois doctrines and schools have failed in the test of history. They have been and still are unable to furnish scientific answers to the questions posed by life. . . .

A revolutionary change in the minds of vast human masses is a long and complex process. The more victories the world Socialist system achieves, the deeper the crisis of world capitalism and the sharper the class struggle, the more important becomes the role of Marxist-Leninist ideas in unifying and mobilizing the masses to fight for communism. The ideological struggle is a most important element of the class struggle of the proletariat. . . .

The defenders of the bourgeois system, seeking to keep the masses in spiritual bondage, invent new "theories" designed to mask the exploiting character of the bourgeois system and to embellish capitalism. They assert that modern capitalism has changed its nature, and that it has become "people's capitalism" in which property is "diffused" and capital becomes "democratic," that classes and class contradictions are disappearing, that "incomes are being equalized" and economic crises are being eliminated. . . .

The advocates of the bourgeois state call it a "welfare state." They propagate the illusion that the capitalist state opposes monopolies and can achieve social harmony and universal well-being. But the masses see from their own experience that the bourgeois state is an obedient tool of the monopolies and that the vaunted "welfare" is welfare for the magnates of finance capital, but suffering and torture for hundreds of millions of working men.

The "theoreticians" of anti-communism describe modern imperialism as "the free world." In reality the "free world" is a world of exploitation and lack of rights, a world where human dignity and national honor are trampled underfoot, a world of obscurantism and political reaction, of rabid militarism and bloody reprisals against the working people.

The monopolies are reviving Fascist ideology—the ideology of extreme chauvinism and racism. Fascism in power is an open terroristic dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic and most imperialist elements of finance capital. . . .

Imperialist reaction makes extensive use of chauvinism to incite nationalist conflicts, persecute entire nationalities and national groups (anti-Semitism, racial discrimination against Negroes and the peoples of the under-developed countries). . . .

Clericalism is acquiring ever greater importance in the political and ideological arsenal of imperialism. The clericals do not confine themselves to using the Church and its ramified machinery. They now have their own big political parties which in many capitalist countries are in power. . . .

Anti-communism is becoming the main instrument of reaction in its struggle against the democratic forces of Asia, Africa and Latin America. It is the meeting ground of imperialist ideology and the ideology of the feudal, pro-imperialist elements and the reactionary groups of the bourgeoisie of the countries which have gained their freedom from colonial tyranny. . . .

The ideological struggle of the imperialist bourgeoisie is spearheaded primarily against the working class and its Marxist-Leninist parties, Social-democratism in the working-class movement and revisionism in the Communist movement reflect the bourgeois influence on the working class.

The contemporary Right-wing Social-Democrats are the most inportant ideological and political prop of the bourgeoisie within the working-class movement. . . . The Right wing of Social-Democracy has completely broken with Marxism and contraposed so-called democratic socialism to scientific socialism. Its adherents deny the existence of antagonistic classes and the class struggle in bourgeois society; they forcefully deny the necessity of the proletarian revolution and oppose the abolition of the private ownership of the means of production. They assert that capitalism is being "transformed" into socialism.

The Right-wing Socialists began by advocating social reforms in place of the Socialist revolution and went as far as to defend state-monopoly capitalism. . . .

Now they openly renounce socialism. Formerly the Right-wing Socialists refused to recognize the class struggle to the point of recognizing the dictatorship of the proletariat. Today they deny . . . the very existence of antagonistic classes. . . .

8. Peaceful Coexistence and the Struggle for World Peace

The CPSU considers that the chief aim of its foreign-policy activity is to provide peaceful conditions for the building of a Communist society in the USSR and developing the world Socialist system and together with the other peace-loving peoples to deliver mankind from a world war of extermination.

The CPSU maintains that forces capable of preserving and promoting world peace have arisen and are growing in the world. It is becoming possible to establish essentially new relations between states. . . .

. . . Imperialism is the only source of the war danger. The imperialist camp is making preparations for the worst crime against mankind — a world thermonuclear war that can bring unprecendented destruction to entire countries and wipe out entire nations. . . .

The peoples must concentrate their efforts on curbing the imperialists in good time and preventing them from making use of lethal weapons. The important thing is to ward off a thermonuclear war, not to let it break out. This can be done by the present generation. . . .

Capitalism established its rule with fire and sword, but socialism does not require war to spread its ideals. Its weapon is its superiority over the old system in social organization, political system, economy, the improvement of the standard of living and spiritual culture.

The Socialist system is a natural center of attraction for the peace-loving forces of the globe. . . . A vast peace zone has taken shape on earth. In addition to the Socialist countries, it includes a large group of non-Socialist countries that for various reasons are not interested in starting a war. . . .

It is possible to avert a world war by the combined efforts of the mighty Socialist camp, the peace-loving non-Socialist countries, the international working class and all the forces championing peace. The growing superiority of the Socialist forces over the forces of imperialism . . . will make it actually possible to banish world war from the life of society even before the complete victory of socialism on earth, with capitalism surviving in part of the world. The victory of socialism throughout the world will do away completely with the social and national causes of all wars. . . .

Socialism has offered mankind the only reasonable principle of maintaining relations between states at a time when the world is divided into 2 systems—the principle of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, put forward by Lenin.

Peaceful coexistence of the Socialist and capitalist countries is an objective necessity for the development of human society. . . . Should the imperialist aggressors nevertheless venture to start a new world war, the people will no longer tolerate a system which drags them into devastating wars. They will sweep imperialism away and bury it. . . .

Peaceful coexistence serves as a basis for the peaceful competition between socialism and capitalism on an international scale and constitutes a specific form of class struggle between them. As they consistently pursue the policy of peaceful coexistence, the Socialist countries are steadily strengthening the positions of the world Socialist system in its competition with capitalism. . . .

Support for the principle of peaceful coexistence is also in keeping with the interests of that section of the bourgeoisie which realizes that a thermonuclear war would not spare the ruling classes of capitalist society either. . . .

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union advances the following tasks in the field of international relations:

To use, together with the other Socialist countries, peaceful states and peoples, every means of preventing war and providing conditions for the complete elimination of war from the life of society;

To pursue a policy of establishing sound international relations, and work for the disbandment of all military blocs . . . the discontinuance of the "cold war" . . . and the abolition of all air, naval, rocket and other military bases on foreign territory;

To work for general and complete disarmament under strict international control;

To strengthen relations of fraternal friendship and close cooperation with the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America which are fighting to attain or consolidate national independence, with all peoples and states that advocate the preservation of peace;

To pursue an active and consistent policy of improving and developing relations with all capitalist countries . . . and other countries, with a view to safeguarding peace;

To contribute in every way to the militant solidarity of all contingents and organizations of the international working class, which oppose the imperialist policy of war. . . .

The CPSU and the Soviet people as a whole will continue to oppose all wars of conquest, including wars between capitalist countries, and local wars aimed at strangling people's emancipation movements, and consider it their duty to support the sacred struggle of the oppressed peoples and their just anti-imperialist wars of liberation. . . .

Part 2

THE TASKS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION IN BUILDING A COMMUNIST SOCIETY

Communism—The Bright Future of All Mankind

The building of a Communist society has become an immediate practical task for the Soviet people. The gradual development of socialism into communism is an objective law; it has been prepared by the development of Soviet Socialist society throughout the preceeding period. . . .

Communism is a classless social system with one form of public ownership of the means of production and full social equality of all members of society; under it, the all-around development of people will be accompanied by the growth of the productive forces through continuous progress in science and technology, all sources of public wealth will gush forth abundantly, and the great principle, "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs," will be implemented. Communism is a highly organized society of free, socially conscious working people in which public self-government will be established, in which labor for the good of society will become the prime and vital requirement of everyone, a necessity recognized by one and all, and the ability of each person will be employed to the greatest benefit of the people. . . .

Under communism, the classes, and the socio-economic and cultural distinctions, and differences in living conditions, between town and countryside disappear completely. . . .

Under communism, all people will have equal status in society, will stand in the same relation to the means of production, will enjoy equal conditions of work and distribution, and will actively participate in the management of public affairs. . . .

People's requirements will be satisfied from public sources. Articles of personal use will come into the full ownership of each member of society and will be at his disposal.

Communist society, which is based on highly organized production and advanced technology, alters the character of work, but it does not release the members of society from work. . . .

. . . Labor and discipline will not be a burden to people, labor will no longer be a mere source of livelihood—it will be a genuinely creative process and a source of happiness.

Communism represents the highest form of organization of public life. All production units and self-governing associations will be harmoniously interlinked by a common planned economy and a uniform rhythm of social labor.

Under communism the nations will draw closer and closer together in all spheres on the basis of a complete identity of economic, political and spiritual interests, of fraternal friendship and cooperation. . . .

In defining the basic tasks to be accomplished in building a Communist society, the party is guided by Lenin's great formula: "Communism is Soviet power plus the electrification of the whole country." . . .

In the current decade (1961-1970), the Soviet Union, in creating the material and technical basis of communism, will surpass the strongest and richest capitalist country, the USA, in production per head of population, the people's standard of living and their cultural and technical standards will improve substantially, everyone will live in easy circumstances, all collective and state farms will become highly productive and profitable enterprises, the demand of the Soviet people for well-appointed housing will, in the main, be satisfied, hard physical work will disappear, the USSR will become the country with the shortest working day.

In the next decade (1971-1980) the material and technical basis of communism will be created and there will be an abundance of material and cultural benefits for the whole population, Soviet society will come close to a stage where it can introduce the principle of distribution according to needs, and there will be a gradual transition to one form of ownership—public ownership. Thus, a Communist society will, on the whole, be built in the USSR. The construction of Communist society will be fully completed in the subsequent period. . . .

1. The Tasks of the Party in the Field of Economic Development and in the Creation and Promotion of the Material and Technical Basis of Communism.

The main economic task of the party and the Soviet people is to create the material and technical basis of communism within 2 decades. This means

the complete electrification of the country and the perfection on this basis of the techniques, technologies and organization of social production in industry and agriculture. . . .

As a result, the USSR will possess productive forces of unparalleled might, it will surpass the technical level of the most developed countries and occupy first place in the world in per capita production. This will serve as a basis for the gradual transformation of Socialist social relations into Communist social relations and for a development of industry and agriculture that will make it possible to meet in abundance the requirements of society and all its members. . . .

(1) *The development of industry; its role in creating the productive forces of communism.*

The creation of the material and technical basis of communism, the task of making Soviet industry technologically the best and strongest in the world, calls for the further development of heavy industry. . . .

A first-class heavy industry, the basis for the country's technical progress and economic might, has been built up in the Soviet Union. The CPSU will continue to devote unflagging attention to the growth of heavy industry. . . . In the new period of the Soviet Union's development, the growth and technological progress of heavy industry must insure the expansion of those branches of the economy producing consumer goods to meet ever more fully the requirements of the people. . . .

With these aims in view, the CPSU plans the following increases in total industrial output:

Within the current 10 years, by approximately 150%, exceeding the contemporary level of U.S. industrial output.

Within 20 years, by not less than 500%, leaving the present over-all volume of U. S. industrial output far behind.

To achieve this, it is necessary to raise productivity of labor in industry by more than 100% within 10 years, and by 300 to 350% within 20 years. In 20 years' time labor productivity in Soviet industry will exceed the present level of labor productivity in the U.S.A. by roughly 100%, and considerably more in terms of per-hour output due to the reduction of the working day of the USSR. . . .

Electrification, which is the backbone of the economy of Communist society, plays a key role in the development of all economic branches and in all modern technological progress. . . . The electrification of the whole country will on the whole be completed in the course of the 2d decade.

The annual output of electricity must be brought up to 900,000-1,000,000 million kilowatt-hours by the end of the first decade, and to 2,700,000-3,000,000 million kwh. by the end of the 2d decade. . . .

As atomic energy becomes cheaper, the construction of atomic power stations will be expanded. . . .

The further rapid expansion of the output of metals and fuels, the basis of modern industry, remains one of the major economic tasks. Within 20 years metallurgy will develop sufficiently to produce about 250 million tons of steel a year. . . .

Within the 20-year period the comprehensive automation of production will be effected on a large scale, with more and more shops and plants being fully automated. . . .

The CPSU will concentrate its efforts on insuring a rapid increase in the output of consumer goods. . . .

A ramified network of modern roads will be built throughout the country. The automobile fleet will increase sufficiently to fully meet freight and passenger traffic requirements; car hire centers will be organized on a large scale. Air transport will become a means of mass passenger traffic extending to all parts of the country. . . .

. . . All regions of the country will have reliable telephone and radio communications and a link-up system of television stations.

Full-scale Communist construction calls for a more rational geographic distribution of the industries, to save social labor and insure the comprehensive development of areas and the specialization of their industries, do away with the overpopulation of big cities, facilitate the elimination of substantial distinctions between town and countryside, and further even out the economic levels of different parts of the country. . . .

The industry in the areas to the east of the Urals, where there are immense natural riches, raw material and power resources, will expand greatly. . . .

The party will do everything to enhance the role of science in the building of the Communist society, it will encourage research to discover new possibilities for the development of the productive forces and the rapid and extensive application of the latest scientific and technical achievements, a decisive advancement in experimental work, including research directly at enterprises, and the efficient organization of scientific and technical information and of the whole system of studying and disseminating progressive Soviet and foreign methods . . .

New techniques and the reduction of the working day call for better organization of work. Technical progress and better production organization must be fully utilized to increase labor productivity and reduce production costs at every enterprise. This implies a higher rate of increase in labor productivity as compared with remuneration, better rate-fixing, prevention of loss of working time, and operation on a profitable basis at all stages of production.

Most important will be the task of systematically improving the qualifications of those working in industry and other branches of the economy in connection with technical progress. The planned training, instruction and rational employment of those released from various jobs due to mechanization and automation are essential. . . .

(2) *Development of agriculture and social relations in the countryside.*

. . . The party organizes a great development of productive forces in agriculture, which will enable it to accomplish 2 basic, closely related tasks: (a) To build up an abundance of high-quality food products for the population and of raw materials for industry, and (b) to effect the gradual transition of social relations in the Soviet countryside to Communist relations and eliminate, in the main, the distinctions between town and country.

The chief means of achieving progress in agriculture and satisfying the growing needs of the country in farm produce are comprehensive mechanization and consistent intensification: high efficiency of crop farming and stock-breeding based on science and progressive experience in all kolkhozes and state farms, a steep rise in the yielding capacity of all crops and greater output per hectare with the utmost economy of labor and funds. . . . Agriculture will approach the level of industry in technical equipment and the organization of production, farm labor will turn into a variety of industrial labor, and the dependence of agriculture upon the elements will decrease considerably, and ultimately drop to a minimum.

The developmen of virgin and disused land and establishment of new large-scale state farms, the reorganization of the machine-and-tractor stations, the sale of implements of production to the collective farms, and the enhancement of material incentives for agricultural workers—all constitute an important stage in the development of agriculture.

The further advance of the countryside to communism will proceed through the development and improvement of the 2 forms of Socialist farming—the kolkhozes and state farms.

The kolkhoz system is an integral part of Soviet Socialist society. It is a way charted by V. I. Lenin for the gradual transition of the peasantry to communism. . . .

. . . The kolkhoz blends the personal interests of the peasants with common, nationwide interests, blends individual with collective interest in the results of production, and offers extensive opportunities for raising the incomes and the well-being of peasants on the basis of growing labor productivity. . . . The kolkhoz is a school of communism for the peasantry.

Economic advancement of the kolkhoz system creates conditions for the gradual rapprochement and, in the long run, also for the merging of kolkhoz property and the property of the whole people into one Communist property.

The state farms, which are the leading Socialist agricultural enterprises, play an ever increasing role in the development of agriculture. The state farms must serve the kolkhozes as a model of progressive, scientifically managed, economically profitable social production, of high efficiency and labor productivity. . . .

A. BUILDING UP AN ABUNDANCE OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE

In order fully to satisfy the requirements of the entire population and of the national economy in agricultural produce, the task is to increase the aggregate volume of agricultural production in 10 years by about 150%, and in 20 years 250%. . . . In the first decade the Soviet Union will outstrip the United States in output of the key agricultural products per head of population.

Accelerated growth of grain production is the chief link in the further development of all agriculture and a basis for the rapid growth of stock-breeding. The aggregate grain crops will more than double in 20 years, and their yielding capacity will double.

. . . The output of animal products will rise: meat about 3-fold in the first 10 years and nearly 4-fold in 20 years, and milk more than double in the first decade and nearly 3-fold in 20 years. . . .

Productivity of labor in agriculture will rise not less than 150% in 10 years, and 5-to-6-fold in 20 years. The rapid rise of the productivity of farm labor—at a higher rate than in industry—will serve to eliminate the lag of agriculture behind industry. . . .

. . . All state farms and kolkhozes will be supplied electric power for production and domestic purposes from the state power grid, and also from power stations built in the countryside. . . .

. . . Qualified workers with special agricultural training and proficient in the use of new machinery will increasingly predominate in the kolkhozes and state farms.

To insure high, stable, steadily increasing harvests, to deliver agriculture from the baneful effects of the elements, especially droughts, to steeply raise land fertility, and to rapidly advance livestock breeding, it is necessary:

- To introduce in all parts of the country scientific systems of land cultivation and animal husbandry in keeping with local conditions and the specialization of each farm, insuring the most effective use of the land and the most economically expedient combination of branches, . . . to insure that every kolkhoz and state farm masters the most advanced methods of crop farming with the application of efficient crop rotation and the sowing of highgrade seeds only, to build up reliable fodder resources in all districts and to introduce the foremost stock-breeding techniques. . . .
- To effect a scientifically expedient disposition of agriculture by natural economic zones and districts, and a more thorough and stable specialization of agriculture. . . .
- To effect a consistent introduction of chemicals in all branches of agriculture, to meet all its needs in mineral fertilizers and chemical means of combating weeds, blights, diseases and plant and animal pests, and to insure the best use of local fertilizers. . . .
- To apply broadly biological achievements and microbiology . . . to improve soil fertility, . . . to irrigate and water millions of hectares of land in the arid areas, . . . to expand field-protective afforestation, building of water reservoirs, irrigation of pastures and melioration of overmoist land, and to combat, systematically, the water and wind erosion of soil. . . .

. . . Research institutions and experimental stations must become important links in agricultural management, and scientists and specialists must become the direct organizers of farm production. Each region or group of regions of the same zonal type should have agricultural research centers, with their own large-scale farms and up-to-date material, and technical resources, to work out recommendations . . . applicable to the given district. Agricultural research and educational establishments must be chiefly located in rural areas and be directly associated with farm production, so that students may learn while working and work while learning.

B. THE KOLKHOZES AND STATE FARMS ON THE ROAD TO COMMUNISM; REMOLDING SOCIAL RELATIONS IN THE COUNTRYSIDE

The economic basis for the development of kolkhozes and state farms lies in the continuous growth and best use of their productive forces, improvement of the organization of production and methods of management, steady rise of labor productivity and strict observance of the principle: higher payment for good work, for better results. . . .

. . . The state will promote the growth of the productive forces of the kolkhoz system and the economic advancement of all kolkhozes. Concurrently, the kolkhoz peasantry must also contribute more widely to the building of Communist society.

The state will insure the full satisfaction of the needs of the kolkhozes in modern machinery, chemicals and other means of production, will train new hundreds of thousands of skilled farm workers, and will considerably increase capital investments in the countryside, in addition to the greater investments by the kolkhozes themselves. . . .

Strict observance of their contracted commitments to the state by the kolkhozes and their members is an irrevocable principle of their participation in the development of the national economy.

. . . It is essential to coordinate the planning of state purchases and the productions plans of the kolkhozes, with utmost consideration for the interests of agricultural production, its correct disposition and specialization.

. . . It is essential that the level of state purchasing prices encourage the kolkhozes to raise labor productivity and reduce production expenses, since greater farm output and lower production costs are the basis of greater incomes for the kolkhozes. . . .

. . . The kolkhozes cannot develop without continuously extending their commonly owned assets for production, insurance, cultural and community needs. At the same time, it must be a standing rule for every kolkhoz to raise its members' incomes from collective farming and to enhance their living standard as labor productivity rises.

. . . Increasingly equal economic conditions must be provided that will improve the incomes of kolkhozes existing under unequal natural-economic conditions in different zones, and also within the zones, in order to put into effect more consistently the principle of equal pay for equal work. . . . Farming on all kolkhozes must be conducted in accordance with a strict principle of profitability.

In its organizational work and economic policy, the party will strive to overcome the lag of the economically weak kolkhozes and to turn all kolkhozes into economically strong, high-income farms in the course of the next few years. . . .

The economic advancement of the kolkhozes will make it possible to perfect kolkhoz internal relations; to raise the degree to which production is socialized, to bring the rate setting, organization and payment of labor closer to the level and the forms employed at state enterprises and effect a transition to a guaranteed monthly wage, to develop community services more broadly. . . .

. . . When collective production at the kolkhozes is able to replace in full that of the supplementary individual plot of the kolkhoz members, when the collective farmers see for themselves that their supplementary individual farming is unprofitable, they will give it up of their own accord.

As the productive forces increase, inter-kolkhoz production ties will develop and the socialization of production will transcend the limits of individual kolkhozes. The building, jointly by several kolkhozes, of enterprises and cultural and other welfare institutions . . . should be encouraged. As the commonly-owned assets increase, the kolkhozes will participate more and more in establishing enterprises and cultural and other welfare institutions for general public use, boarding schools, clubs, hospitals and holiday homes. All these developments, which must proceed on a voluntary basis and when the necessary economic conditions are available, will gradually impart to kolkhoz-cooperative property the nature of public property.

The state farms have a long way to travel in their development—to attain high rates of growth of labor productivity, to steadily reduce production costs and raise farm efficiency. This calls for the economically expedient specialization of state farms. . . . They must become mechanized and well-organized first-class factories of grain, cotton, meat, milk, wool, vegetables, fruit and other products. . . .

The material and technical basis of the state farms will be extended and improved, and the living and cultural conditions at the state farms will approach those in towns. State farm management should follow a more and more democratic pattern which will allot a greater role to the personnel, and to general meetings and produc-

tion conferences in deciding production, cultural and other community issues.

As the kolkhozes and state farms develop, their production ties with each other and with local industrial enterprises will grow stronger. . . . Agrarian-industrial associations will gradually emerge wherever economically expedient. . . .

As production in kolkhozes and state farms develops and social relations within them advance, agriculture rises to a higher level, affording the possibility of transition to Communist forms of production and distribution. . . . By virtue of high labor productivity all kolkhozes will become economically powerful. Kolkhoz members will be adequately provided and their requirements fully satisfied out of collective-farm production. . . . The payment of labor will be the same as at nationally-owned enterprises and they will be provided all forms of social security (pensions, holidays, etc.) out of kolkhoz and state funds.

Gradually, the kolkhoz villages will grow into amalgamated urban communities with modern housing facilities. . . . The rural population will ultimately draw level with the urban population in cultural and living conditions. . . .

(3) *Management of the national economy and planning.*

The building of the material and technical basis of communism calls for a continuous improvement in economic management. Chief emphasis at all levels of planning and economic management must be laid on the most rational and effective use of the material, labor and financial resources and natural wealth and on the elimination of excessive expenditures. The immutable law of economic development is to achieve in the interests of society the highest results at the lowest cost.

Planning must at all levels concentrate on the rapid development and introduction of new techniques. . . .

. . . The quality of goods produced by Soviet enterprises must be considerably higher than that of the best capitalist enterprises. For this purpose, it is necessary to apply a broad set of measures, including public control, and to enhance the role of quality indexes. . . .

Communist construction presupposes the maximum development of democratic principles of management coupled with a strengthening and improvement of centralized economic management by the state. The economic independence and the rights of local organs and enterprises will continue to expand within the framework of the single national economic plan. . . .

Centralized planning should chiefly concentrate on working out and ensuring the fulfillment of the key targets of the economic plans with the greatest consideration paid to recommendations made at lower levels, on coordinating and dove-tailing plans drawn up locally; on spreading scientific and technical achievements and advanced production experience; on enforcing a single state policy in the spheres of technical progress, capital investment, distribution of production, payment of labor, prices, and finance, and a unified system of accounting and statistics. . . .

Firm and consistent discipline, day-to-day control, and determined elimination of elements of parochialism and of a narrow departmental approach in economic affairs are necessary conditions for successful Communist construction.

There must be a further expansion of the role and responsibility of local bodies in economic management. The transfer of a number of functions of economic management by the all-union bodies of those of the republics, by republican bodies to those of the regions and by regional bodies to those of the districts should be continued. . . . The improvement of the work of economic councils within the economic administration areas will also be accompanied by greater coordination of the work of other economic bodies, in order better to organize the planned comprehensive economic development of such major economic areas as the Urals, the Volga area, Siberia, Transcaucasia, the Baltic area, Central Asia, etc.

Extension of operative independence and of the initiative of enterprises on the basis of the state-plan targets is essential. . . .

The direct and most active participation of trade unions in elaborating and realizing economic plans, in matters concerning the labor of factory and office workers, in setting up organs of economic administration and of management of enterprises, must be extended more and more at top level and locally. The rôle of the collectives of factory and office workers in . . . the work of enterprises must be enhanced.

In the process of Communist construction economic management will make use of material and moral incentives for high production figures. . . . In the course of the advance to communism the importance of moral labor incentives, public recognition of achieved results and the sense of responsibility of each for the common cause will become continuously greater.

The entire system of planning and assessing the work of central and local organizations, enterprises and collective farms must stimulate their interest in higher plan targets and the maximum dissemination of progressive production experience. . . .

There must be a continuous improvement in rate setting, the system of labor payments and bonuses, in the financial control over the quantity and quality of work, in the elimination of leveling and the stimulation of collective forms of incentives raising the interest of each employe in the high efficiency of the enterprise as a whole.

It is necessary in Communist construction to make full use of commodity-money relations in keeping with their new substance in the Socialist period. . . . When the transition to a one Communist form of people's property and the Communist system of distribution is completed, commodity-money relations will become economically outdated and will wither away.

The important rôle of the budget in distributing the social product and national income will prevail throughout the period of full-scale Communist construction. There will be a further strengthening of the monetary and credit system, a consolidation of Soviet currency, a steady rise of the rate of exchange of the ruble by virtue of its growing purchasing power, and a strengthening of the rôle of the ruble in the international arena.

It is necessary to promote profitable operation of enterprises. . . . Prices must, to a growing extent, reflect the socially-necessary outlays of labor, insure return of production and circulation expenditures and a certain profit for each normally operating enterprise. Systematic, economically justified price reductions based on growth of labor productivity and reduction of production costs, are the main trend of the price policy in the period of Communist construction. . . .

2. The Tasks of the Party in Improving the Living Standards of the People

. . . The CPSU sets the historically important task of achieving in the Soviet Union a living standard higher than that of any of the capitalist countries.

This task will be effected by: (A) Raising the individual payment of employes according to the quantity and quality of work, coupled with reduction of retail prices and abolition of taxes paid by the population, (B) Increase of the public funds distributed among members of society irrespective of the quantity and quality of their labor, that is, free of charge (education, medical treatment, pensions, maintenance of children at children's institutions, transition to cost-free use of public amenities, etc.).

The rise of the real incomes of the population will be outstripped by rapid increase in the amount of commodities and services, and by far-flung construction of dwellings and cultural and service buildings.

Soviet people will be more prosperous than people in the developed capitalist countries even if average incomes will be equal, because in the Soviet Union the national income is distributed fairly among the members of society. . . .

The party acts upon Lenin's thesis that Communist construction must be based upon the principle of material incentive. In the coming 20 years payment according to one's work will remain the principal source for satisfying the material and cultural needs of the working people.

The disparity between high and comparatively low incomes must gradually shrink. . . . As the living standard of the entire population rises, low income levels will approach the higher, and the disparity between the incomes of peasants and workers, low-paid and high-paid personnel and

the populations of different parts of the country, will gradually shrink.

. . . As the country advances towards communism, personal needs will be increasingly met out of public consumption funds. . . . The transition to Communist distribution will be completed after the principle of distribution according to one's work will exhaust itself, that is, when there will be an abundance of material and cultural wealth and labor will become life's prime necessity for all members of society.

A. PROVISION OF A HIGH LEVEL OF INCOME AND CONSUMPTION FOR THE WHOLE POPULATION

The national income of the USSR in the next 10 years will increase nearly 150%, and about 400% in 20 years. The real income per head of population will increase by more than 250% in 20 years.

In the course of the coming 10 years the real incomes of factory and office workers (including public funds) per employed person will, on the average, be almost doubled, and in 20 years will increase by approximately 200 to 250%. The increase in the real incomes of factory, office and professional workers paid relatively lower wages will be brought to a level at which low-paid brackets throughout the country will be eliminated within 10 years. The real incomes of factory and office workers receiving the minimum wages will be approximately trebled (including what they get from public funds) over this period.

By virtue of higher rates of growth of the labor productivity of collective farmers their real incomes will grow more rapidly than the incomes of factory workers, and will, on an average per employed person, more than double in the next 10 years and increase more than 4-fold in 20 years.

The wages of such numerically large sections of the Soviet intelligentsia as engineers and technicians, agronomists and stockbreeding experts, teachers, medical and cultural workers, will rise considerably.

. . . The general level of popular consumption will rise rapidly. The entire population will be able to satisfy to the full its need in high quality and varied foodstuffs. . . . The demand of all sections of the population for high-quality consumer goods: attractive clothes, footwear and goods improving and adorning the daily life of Soviet people, such as comfortable modern furniture, up-to-date domestic goods, a wide range of goods for cultural purposes, etc., will be amply satisfied. Production of motorcars for the population will be considerably extended.

. . . Good shopping facilities will be arranged throughout the country. . . .

The 2d decade will see an abundance of material and cultural benefits for the whole population, and material prerequisites will be created to complete the transition to the Communist principle of distribution according to need in the period to follow.

B. SOLUTION OF THE HOUSING PROBLEM AND IMPROVEMENT OF LIVING CONDITIONS

. . . As a result of the 2d decade, every family, including newlyweds, will have a comfortable flat conforming to the requirements of hygiene and cultured living. Peasant houses of the old type will, in the main, give place to new modern dwellings, or—wherever possible—they will be rebuilt and appropriately improved. In the course of the 2d decade housing will be gradually provided to all citizens rent free.

An extensive program of public-services construction and of improvements in all towns and workers' estates will be carried out. . . . Well-appointed small and middle-size towns will be increasingly developed. . . .

Public-transport facilities (tramways, buses, trolley buses and subways) will become free in the course of the 2d decade, and at the end of it such public amenities as water, gas and heating will also be free.

C. REDUCTION OF WORKING HOURS AND THE FURTHER IMPROVEMENT OF WORKING CONDITIONS

In the coming 10 years the country will go over to a 6-hour working day with one day off a week, or 34-to-36-hour working week with 2 days off, and in underground and harmful jobs to a 5-hour working day or a 30-hour, 5-day working week.

By virtue of a corresponding rise in labor productivity, transition to a still shorter working week will be begun in the 2d decade.

The Soviet Union will thus have the world's shortest and, concurrently, the most productive and highest-paid working day. . . .

The length of the annual paid holidays of working people will be increased. . . . Gradually the minimum length of leave for all industrial, professional and office workers will increase to 3 weeks and subsequently to one month. Paid holidays will be gradually extended to kolkhoz members.

All-round measures to make working conditions healthier and lighter constitute an important task in improving the well-being of the people.

D. HEALTH SERVICES AND MEASURES FOR INCREASED LONGEVITY

The Socialist state is the only state which undertakes to protect and continuously improve the health of the whole population. . . . There will be an extensive program designed to prevent and sharply reduce diseases, wipe out mass infectious diseases and further increase longevity. The needs of the urban and rural population in all forms of highly-qualified medical services will be met in full. . . .

In addition to the existing free medical services, accommodation of sick persons at sanatoria and the dispensing of medicines will become gratuitous. In order to afford the population an opportunity to rest in an out-of-town environment, holiday homes, boarding houses, country hotels and tourist camps will be built, where working people will be accommodated at a reasonable charge or, by way of a bonus, as well as at a discount or gratis.

The party considers it a most important task to ensure the education . . . of a sound young generation harmoniously developed physically and spiritually. This calls for utmost encouragement of all forms of mass sport and physical training. . . .

E. IMPROVEMENT OF FAMILY CONDITIONS AND OF THE POSITION OF WOMEN. MAINTENANCE OF CHILDREN AND INCAPACITATED PEOPLE AT PUBLIC EXPENSE

The remnants of the unequal position of women in domestic life must be totally eliminated. Social and living conditions must be provided to enable women to combine happy motherhood with increasingly active and creative participation in social labor and social activities, and in scientific and artistic pursuits. Women must be given relatively lighter and yet sufficiently well-paid jobs. . . .

It is essential to provide conditions to reduce and lighten the domestic work of women, and later to make possible the replacement of domestic work by public forms of satisfying the daily needs of the family. . . .

. . . The service at catering establishments and the quality of catering must be radically improved, so that meals at public catering establishments should be tasty and nourishing and should cost the family less than meals cooked at home. Price reductions in public catering will keep ahead of price reductions for foodstuffs in the shops. By virtue of this public catering will be able to take precedence over home cooking within 10 to 15 years.

The transition to free public catering (mid-day meals) at enterprises and institutions, and for collective farmers at work will begin in the 2d decade.

. . . The development of a ramified network of children's institutions will make it possible . . . in the 2d decade for every family to keep children and adolescents free of charge at children's establishments if they so desire. . . .

. . . The state, the trade unions and the kolkhozes will in the course of the 20 years gradually undertake maintenance of all citizens incapacitated through old age or some disability. . . .

By fulfilling the tasks set by the party for the improvement of the well-being of the people, the Soviet Union will make considerable headway towards the practical realization of the Communist principle of distribution according to need.

At the end of the 20 years public consumption funds will total about half of the aggregate real income of the population. . . .

The set program can be fulfilled with success under conditions of peace. Complications in the international situation and the resultant necessity of increasing defense expenditures may hold up the fulfillment of the plans for raising the living standard of the people. . . .

8. The Tasks of the Party in the Spheres of State Development and the Further Promotion of Socialist Democracy

The dictatorship of the proletariat . . . has played an epoch-making role by insuring the victory of socialism in the USSR. In the course of Socialist construction, however, it underwent changes. After the exploiting classes had been abolished, the state function of suppressing their resistance ceased to exist. The chief functions of the Socialist state—economic and organizational, cultural and educational—have developed in full measure. The Socialist state has entered a new phase.

The state has begun to grow over into a nation-wide organization of the working people of Socialist society. Proletarian democracy is becoming more and more a Socialist democracy of the people as a whole. The working class is the only class in history that does not aim to perpetuate its power. Having brought about a complete and final victory of socialism—the first phase of communism—and the transition of society to the full-scale construction of communism, the dictatorship of the proletariat has fulfilled its historic mission and has ceased to be indispensable in the USSR from the point of view of the tasks of internal development.

The state, which arose as a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, has become a state of the entire people. . . . Since the working class is the foremost and best organized force of Soviet society, it plays a leading role also in the period of the full-scale construction of communism. The working class will have completed its function of leader of society after communism is built and classes disappear.

The party holds that the dictatorship of the working class will cease to be necessary before the state withers away. The state as an organization embracing the entire people will survive until the complete victory of communism.

. . . It must organize the building up of the material and technical basis of communism, and the transformation of Socialist relations into Communist relations, must exercise control over the measure of work and rate of consumption, promote welfare, protect the rights and freedoms of Soviet citizens, Socialist law and order and Socialist property, instill in the people conscious discipline and a Communist atttitude to labor, guarantee the defense and security of the country, promote fraternal cooperation with the Socialist countries, uphold world peace and maintain normal relations with all countries.

Vigorous extension and perfection of Socialist democracy, active participation of all citizens in the administration of the state, in the management of economic and cultural development, improvement of the government apparatus, and increased control over its activity by the people constitute the main direction in which Socialist statehood develops in the period of the building of communism.

As Socialist democracy develops, the organs of state power will gradually be transformed into organs of public self-government The Leninist principle of democratic centralism, which insures the proper combination of centralized leadership with the maximum encouragement of local initiative, the extension of the rights of the union republics and greater creative activity of the masses, will be promoted.

(1) *The soviets and promotion of the democratic principles of government.*

The role of the soviets, which have become an all-inclusive organization of the people embodying their unity, will grow as Communist construction progresses. The soviets, which combine the features of a government body and a social organization, operate more and more like social organizations, with the masses participating in their work extensively and directly. . . .

. . . It is desirable that at least ⅓ of the total number of deputies to a soviet should be elected anew each time so that more . . . working people may learn to govern the state.

The party considers systematic renewal of the leading bodies necessary. . . . It is advisable to introduce the principle that the leading officials of the union, republican and local bodies should be elected to their offices, as a rule, for not more than 3 consecutive terms. In those cases when the personal gifts of the official in question are generally believed to make his further activity . . . useful and necessary, his reelection may be allowed. His election shall be considered valid . . . if not less than ¾ of the votes are cast in his favor.

. . . It is necessary to develop more and more fully regular accountability of soviets and deputies to their constituents and the right of the electorate to recall ahead of term deputies who have not justified confidence placed in them, publicity and the free and full discussion of all the important questions of government and of economic and cultural developments at the meetings of soviets, regular accountability of executive government bodies to meetings of soviets, . . . criticism of shortcomings in the work of government, economic and other organizations. . . .

The rights of the local Soviets of Working People's Deputies (local self-government) will be extended. Local soviets will make final decisions on all questions of local significance.

. . . As kolkhoz-cooperative and public property draws closer together, a single democratic body administering all enterprises, organizations and institutions at district level will gradually take shape. . . .

Discussion by the people of draft laws and other decisions of both national and local significance must become the rule. The most important draft laws should be put to a nationwide referendum. . . .

. . The party regards inspection by people's control bodies as an effective means of drawing large sections of the people into the management of state affairs, and control over the strict observance of legality as a means of perfecting the government apparatus, eradicating bureaucracy and promptly realizing proposals made by the people. . . .

. . . The principle of electivity and accountability to representative bodies and to the electorate will be gradually extended to all the leading officials of government bodies.

An effort should be made to insure that the salaried government staffs are reduced, that ever larger sections of the people learn to take part in administration and that work on government staffs eventually ceases to constitute a profession.

. . . It is necessary consistently to exercise the principle of collective leadership at all levels of the government and economic apparatus. . . .

The transition to communism means the fullest extension of personal freedom and the rights of Soviet citizens. . . .

Justice in the USSR . . . is based on truly democratic lines: Election and accountability of the judges and people's assessors, the right to recall them before expiration of their term, the publicity of court proceedings, and the participation of prosecutors and lawyers appointed by social organizations in the work of courts with strict observance of legality and all the rules of judicial procedure. . . .

. . . As long as there are criminal offenses, it is necessary severely to punish those who commit crimes dangerous to society, violate the rules of the Socialist community and refuse to live by honest labor. . . .

Higher standards of living and culture and greater social consciousness of the people will pave the way to the ultimate replacement of judicial punishment by measures of public influence and education. Under socialism, anyone who has strayed from the path of a working man can return to useful activity. . . .

(2) *The further heightening of the rôle of social organizations. The state and communism.*

The rôle of social organizations increases in the period of the full-scale construction of communism. The trade unions acquire particular importance as schools of administration and economic management, as schools of communism. . . . The trade unions shall:

- Work constantly to increase the Communist consciousness of the masses, organize an emulation movement for Communist labor and help the people in learning to manage state and social affairs, take an active part in controlling the measure of labor and rate of consumption.
- Encourage the activity of factory and office workers, enlisting their aid in the work for continuous technical progress, for higher productivity of labor, for the fulfillment and overfulfillment of state plans and assignments.

● Work steadfastly for the improvement of the skill of factory and office workers and their working and living conditions, protect the material interests and rights of the working people.

● Insure that housing and cultural development plans are fulfilled and that public catering, trade, social insurance and health resort services are improved.

● Insure control over the spending of public consumption funds. . . .

● Improve cultural services and recreation facilities . . . , encourage physical training and sports. . . .

. . . The YCL [Young Communist League] organizations must concentrate on educating the youth in a spirit of utmost devotion to their people, the Communist Party and country, the Communist cause, constant preparedness for labor for the good of the country and for overcoming all difficulties and improving the general education and technical knowledge of all young men and women.

It is the sacred duty of the YCL to prepare young people for the defense of their Socialist country, to educate them as selfless patriots capable of firmly repelling any enemy.

The party regards it as a major task of the social organizations to promote labor emulation and Communist forms of labor in every possible way, to encourage the activity of working people in building a Communist society, to work for the improvement of the living conditions of the people. Social organizations . . . should be encouraged to play a greater part in promoting public order, particularly through the people's volunteer squads and comradely courts. . . .

As Socialist statehood develops, it will gradually become public Communist self-government which will embrace the Soviets, trade unions, cooperatives and other mass organizations of the people. . . .

Public functions similar to those performed by the state today in the sphere of economic and cultural management will be preserved under communism and will be modified and perfected as society develops. . . . The bodies in charge of planning, accounting, economic management and cultural advancement, now government bodies, will lose their political character and will become organs of public self-government. Communist society will be a highly organized community of working men. Universally recognized rules of Communist conduct will be established whose observance will become an organic need and habit with everyone.

Historical development is bound to lead to the withering away of the state. To insure that the state withers away completely, it is necessary to provide both internal conditions—the building of a developed Communist society—and external conditions—the contradictions between capitalism and communism in the world arena in favor of communism.

(3) *The strengthening of the armed forces and the defense potential of the Soviet Union.*

. . . The Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence has been, and remains, the general principle of the foreign policy of the Soviet state.

The Soviet Union perseveringly seeks to bring about the realization of the proposals for general and complete disarmament under strict international control. But the imperialist countries stubbornly refuse to accept these proposals, and feverishly build up their armed forces. They refuse to reconcile themselves to the existence of the world Socialist system, and openly proclaim their insane plans for the liquidation of the Soviet Union and the other Socialist states through war. This obliges the Communist Party . . . and all the peoples of the USSR . . . to be constantly prepared to take up arms in defense of their country.

The party maintains that as long as imperialism survives, the threat of aggressive wars will remain. . . . The Soviet Union sees it as its internationalist duty to guarantee, together with the other Socialist countries, the reliable defense and security of the entire Socialist camp.

. . . The Soviet state will see to it that its armed forces are powerful; that they have the most up-to-date means of defending the country—atomic and thermonuclear weapons, rockets of every range, and they keep all types of military equipment and all weapons up to standard. . . .

The CPSU is doing everything to insure that the Soviet armed forces . . . are prepared at any moment to administer a crushing rebuff to imperialist aggressors. One-man leadership is a major principle of the organization of the Soviet armed forces. . . .

Party leadership of the armed forces, and the increased role and influence of the party organizations in the army and navy are the bedrock of military development. . . .

4. . . . The Party in the Field of National Relations

Under socialism the nations flourish, and their sovereignty grows stronger. The development of nations does not proceed along lines of strengthening national barriers, national narrowmindedness and egoism, as it does under capitalism, but along lines of their association, fraternal mutual assistance and friendship. . . .

People of many nationalities live together and work in harmony in the Soviet republics. The boundaries between the constituent republics of the USSR are increasingly losing their former significance. . . .

Full-scale Communist construction constitutes a new stage in the development of national relations in the USSR in which the nations will draw still closer together until complete unity is achieved. . . .

The party approaches all questions of national relationships arising in the course of Communist construction from the standpoint of proletarian internationalism and firm pursuance of the Leninist national policy. . . .

The party sets the following tasks in the sphere of national relations:

A. To continue the all-around economic and cultural development of all the Soviet nations, insuring their increasingly close fraternal cooperation, mutual aid, unity and affinity in all spheres of life . . . ; to make full use of, and advance the forms of, national statehood of the peoples of the USSR.

B. In the economic sphere, it is necessary to pursue the line of comprehensive development of the economies of the Soviet republics, effect a rational geographic location of production and a planned working of natural wealth, and promote Socialist division of labor among the republics, unifying and combining their economic efforts, and properly balancing the interests of the state as a whole and those of each Soviet republic. . . .

. . . Benefits growing in the course of Communist construction must be fairly distributed among all nations and nationalities;

C. To work for the further all-around development of the Socialist cultures of the peoples of the USSR the big scale of Communist construction and the new victories of Communist ideology are enriching the cultures of the peoples of the USSR which are Socialist in content and national in form. The ideological unity of the nations and nationalities is growing. . . . An international culture common to all the Soviet nations is developing. . . .

Attaching decisive importance to the development of the Socialist content of the cultures of the peoples of the USSR the party will promote their further mutual enrichment and rapprochement to the consolidation of their international basis, and thereby the formation of the future single worldwide culture of Communist society. . . .

D. To continue promoting the free development of the languages of the USSR and the complete freedom of every citizen of the USSR to speak, and to bring up and educate his children in any language. . . .

The voluntary study of Russian in addition to the native language is of positive significance, since it facilitates reciprocal exchanges of experience and access of every nation and nationality to the cultural gains of all the other peoples of the USSR and to world culture.

E. To pursue consistently as heretofore the principles of internationalism in the field of national relations, to strengthen the friendship of peoples as one of the most important gains of socialism, to conduct a relentless struggle against manifestations and survivals of nationalism and chauvinism of all types, against trends of national narrow-mindedness and exclusiveness, idealization of the past and the veiling of social contradictions and habits. . . . Every Soviet republic can continue to flourish and strengthen only in the great family of fraternal Socialist nations of the USSR.

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5. . . . The Party in the Spheres of Ideology, Education, Instruction, Science and Culture

. . . Even after the Socialist system has triumphed, there persist in the minds and behavior of people survivals of capitalism, which hamper the progress of society. . . .

The party considers that the paramount task in the ideological field in the present period is to educate all working people in a spirit of ideological integrity and devotion to communism, and cultivate in them a Communist attitude to labor and the social economy, to eliminate completely the survivals of bourgeois views and morals, to insure the all-round, harmonious development of the individual, to create a truly rich spiritual culture. . . .

Increased Communist consciousness of the people furthers the ideological and political unity of the workers, collective farmers and intellectuals and promotes their gradual fusion in the single collective of the working people of Communist society.

The party sets the following tasks:

(1) *In . . . development of Communist consciousness.*

A. THE SHAPING OF A SCIENTIFIC WORLD OUTLOOK

Under socialism and at a time when a Communist society is being built, when spontaneous economic development has given way to the conscious organization of production and social life as a whole, . . . the shaping of a scientific world outlook in all working people is of prime importance. The ideological basis of this world outlook is shaped as Marxism-Leninism, an integral and harmonious system of philosophical, economic and sociopolitical views. The party calls for the education of the population as whole in the spirit of scientific communism and strives to insure that all working people . . . take a correct view of international and domestic events and consciously build their life on Communist lines. . . .

The party regards one of its most important duties to further elaborate Marxist-Leninist theory by studying and generalizing new phenomena in the life of Soviet society and the experience of the world revolutionary working-class and liberation movements, and creatively to combine the theory and the practice of Communist construction.

B. LABOR EDUCATION

The party sees the development of a Communist attitude to labor in all members of society as its chief educational task. Labor for the benefit of society is the sacred duty of all. . . .

It is impossible for a man in Communist society not to work, for neither his social consciousness nor public opinion would permit it. Work according to one's ability will become a habit, a prime necessity of life, for every member of society.

C. THE AFFIRMATION OF COMMUNIST MORALITY

In the course of transition to communism, the moral principles of society become increasingly important, the sphere of action of the moral factor expands and the importance of the administrative control of human relations diminishes accordingly. . . .

The Communists reject the class morality of the exploiters. . . .

. . . Communist morality encompasses the fundamental norms of human morality which the masses of the people evolved in the course of millenniums as they fought against vice and social oppression. . . .

The party holds that the moral code of the builder of communism should comprise the following principles:

- Devotion to the Communist cause, love of the Socialist motherland and of the other Socialist countries.
- Conscientious labor for the good of society—he who does not work, neither shall he eat.
- Concern on the part of everyone for the preservation and growth of public wealth.
- A high sense of public duty, intolerance of actions harmful to the public interest.
- Collectivism and comradely mutual assistance between individuals—man is to man a friend, comrade and brother.
- Honesty and truthfulness, moral purity, modesty and guilelessness in social and private life.
- Mutual respect in the family, and concern for the upbringing of children.
- An uncompromising attitude to injustice, parasitism, dishonesty and careerism.
- Friendship and brotherhood among all peoples of the USSR, intolerance of national and racial hatred.
- An uncompromising attitude to the enemies of communism, peace and the freedom of nations.
- Fraternal solidarity with the working people of all countries, and with all peoples.

D. THE PROMOTION OF PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM AND SOCIALIST PATRIOTISM

. . . The party maintains that with the emergence of the world Socialist system the patriotism of the members of Socialist society is expressed in devotion and loyalty to their own country and to the entire comity of Socialist countries.

Socialist patriotism and Socialist internationalism necessarily imply proletarian solidarity with the working class and all working people of all countries. . . .

E. ALL-ROUND AND HARMONIOUS DEVELOPMENT OF THE INDIVIDUAL

. . . All-round development of the individual has been made possible by historic social gains—freedom from exploitation, unemployment and poverty, from discrimination on account of sex, origin, nationality or race. . . . Relations of dependence and inequality between people in public affairs and in family life disappear. The personal dignity of each citizen is protected by society. Each is guaranteed an equal and free choice of occupation and profession with due regard to the interests of society. . . .

F. ELIMINATION OF THE SURVIVALS OF CAPITALISM IN THE MINDS AND BEHAVIOR OF PEOPLE

. . . Comradely censure of antisocial behavior will gradually become the principal means of doing away with manifestations of bourgeois views, customs and habits. . . .

The party uses ideological media to educate people in the spirit of a scientific materialist world conception, to overcome religious prejudices without insulting the sentiments of believers. . . .

G. THE EXPOSURE OF BOURGEOIS IDEOLOGY

The peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems does not imply discontinuance of the ideological struggle. The Communist Party will go on exposing the anti-popular, reactionary nature of capitalism. . . . The party will steadfastly propagate the great advantages of socialism and communism over the declining capitalist system. . . .

(2) *In . . . public education.*

. . . The system of public education is so organized as to insure that the instruction and education of the rising generation are closely bound up with life and productive labor, and that the adult population can combine work in the sphere of production with further training and education. . . . Public education along these lines will make for the molding of harmoniously developed members of Communist society and for the solution of a cardinal social problem, namely, the elimination of substantial distinctions between mental and physical labor.

The main tasks in the field of instruction and education are:

A. THE INTRODUCTION OF UNIVERSAL COMPULSORY SECONDARY EDUCATION

In the next decade compulsory secondary general and polytechnical 11-year education is to be introduced for all children of school age, and education of 9 classes of young people engaged in the national economy who have not had the appropriate schooling. In the subsequent decade everyone is to receive a complete secondary education. . . .

Secondary education must furnish a solid knowledge of the fundamentals of the basic sciences, and understanding of the principles of the Communist world outlook, and a labor and polytechnical training in accordance with the rising level of science and engineering, with due regard to the needs of society and to the abilities and inclinations of the students. . . .

B. THE PUBLIC UPBRINGING OF CHILDREN. . . .

The Communist system of public education is based on the public upbringing of children. The educational influence which the family exerts on children must be brought into ever greater harmony with their public upbringing. . . .

C. THE CREATION OF CONDITIONS FOR HIGH-STANDARD INSTRUCTION AND EDUCATION OF THE RISING GENERATION

The party plans to carry out an extensive program for the construction of schools and cultural-education

establishments to meet fully the needs of education and instruction. . . . Rural schools will also have their own farming plots, large factories will have production training shops for school children. . . .

D. HIGHER AND SECONDARY SPECIALIZED EDUCATION

. . . Higher and secondary specialized education, which must train highly skilled specialist with a broad theoretical and political background, will be expanded.

Shorter working hours and a considerable improvement in the standard of living of the entire population will provide everyone with an opportunity to receive a higher or secondary specialized education if he so desires. . . .

(3) *In the field of science.*

. . . Scientific progress and the introduction of scientific achievements into the economy will remain an object of special concern to the party.

Most important are the following tasks:

A. DEVELOPMENT OF THEORETICAL INVESTIGATIONS

. . . A high level of development in mathematics, physics, chemistry and biology is a necessary condition for the advancement and the effectiveness of technical, medical, agricultural and other sciences.

Theoretical investigations will be promoted to the utmost, primarily in such decisive fields of technical progress as electrification of the whole country, comprehensive mechanization and automation of production, the application of chemistry to the leading branches of the national economy, industrial uses of atomic energy, transport and communications. . . .

Big advances are to be made in the development of all the biological sciences in order successfully to solve medical problems and achieve further progress in agriculture. . . .

There must be intensive development of research work in the social sciences, which constitute the scientific basis for the guidance of the development of society. . . .

The task of economic science is to theoretically generalize new phenomena in the economic life of society, and to work out the national economic problems whose solution promotes successful Communist construction. . . .

The investigation of the problems of the world history and contemporary world development must disclose the law-governed process of mankind's advance toward communism, the change in the balance of forces in favor of socialism, the aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism, the break-up of the colonial system of imperialism and its consequences, and the upsurge of the national-liberation movement. . . .

The social sciences must continue to struggle with determination against bourgeois ideology, against Right Socialist theory and practice and against revisionism and dogmatism. . . .

B. MERGER OF SCIENCE AND PRODUCTION

. . . It is essential to extend and improve the network of research institutions, including those attached to the central bodies directing economic development and those attached to the economic councils, and the network of research laboratories and institutes at the major industrial plants and in farming areas, to develop research at higher educational establishments, to improve the geographical distribution of research institutions and higher educational establishments, and to insure the further development of science in all the union republics and major economic areas.

The research institutions must plan and coordinate their work in the most important trends of research in accordance with the plans of economic and cultural development. . . .

It is a point of honor for Soviet scientists . . . to take a leading place in world science in all the key fields.

(4) *In the field of cultural development, literature and art.*

Cultural development during the full-scale construction of Communist society will constitute the closing stage of a great cultural revolution. At this stage, all the necessary ideological and cultural conditions will be created for the victory of communism. . . .

Communist culture, which will have absorbed and will develop all the best that has been created by world culture, will be a new, higher stage in the cultural progress of mankind. . . . It will be the culture of a classless society, a culture of the entire people, of all mankind.

A. ALL-ROUND ADVANCEMENT OF THE CULTURAL LIFE OF SOCIETY

In the period of transition to communism, creative effort in all fields of culture . . . becomes accessible to all members of society. . . . The development and enrichment of the arts are based on a combination of mass amateur endeavor and professional art. . . .

To provide the material basis for cultural development on a grand scale:

- Book publishing and the press will be vigorously developed, and the printing and paper industries will be expanded accordingly.
- There will be more libraries, lecture halls and reading rooms, theatres, clubs, houses of culture, and cinemas.
- The country-wide radio diffusion network will be completed, television stations covering all industrial and agricultural areas will be built.
- People's universities, people's theatrical companies and other amateur cultural organizations will be widely developed.
- A large network of scientific and technical laboratories and of art and cinema studios will be provided for the use of all who have the inclination and ability. . . .

B. ENHANCEMENT OF THE EDUCATIONAL ROLE OF LITERATURE AND ART

Soviet literature and art, imbued with optimism and dynamic Communist ideas are great factors in ideological education. . . .

The high-road of literature and art lies through the strengthening of links with the life of the people, through faithful and highly artistic depiction of the richness and versatility of Socialist reality, inspired and vivid portrayal of all that is new and genuinely Communist, and exposure of all that hinders the progress of society.

In the art of Socialist realism, which is based on the principles of partisanship and kinship with the people, bold pioneering in the artistic depiction of life goes hand in hand with the cultivation and development of the progressive traditions of world culture. . . .

C. THE EXPANSION OF INTERNATIONAL CULTURAL RELATIONS

The party considers it necessary to expand the Soviet Union's cultural relations with the countries of the Socialist system and with all other countries for the purpose of pooling scientific and cultural achievements and of bringing about mutual understanding and friendship among the peoples.

6. Communist Construction in the USSR and Cooperation of the Socialist Countries

The fact that Socialist revolutions took place at different times and that the economic and cultural levels of the countries concerned are dissimilar, predetermines the non-simultaneous completion of Socialist construction in those countries and their non-simultaneous entry into the period of the full-scale construction of communism. . . .

The first country to advance to communism facilitates and accelerates the advance of the entire world Socialist system to communism. . . .

The construction of communism in the USSR promotes the interests of every country of the Socialist community. . . .

The Socialist system makes possible the abolition of the economic and cultural gap between countries—a legacy of capitalism—the more rapid development of the countries whose economy lagged behind under capitalism. . . .

It is in the best interest of Socialist and Communist construction that each Socialist country combine the effort to strengthen and develop its national economy with the effort to expand economic cooperation of the Socialist camp as a whole. . . .

Material prerequisites for the construction of communism are created by the labor of the people of the country concerned and by its steadily growing contribution to the common cause—the consolidation of the Socialist system. . . .

The objective laws of the world Socialist system, the growth of the productive forces of Socialist society, and

the vital interests of the peoples of the Socialist countries predetermine an increasing affinity of the various national economies, and the eventual unification in a single world Communist economy that Lenin foresaw.

The CPSU and the Communist parties of the other Socialist countries consider their tasks to be:

• In the political field, the utmost strengthening of the world Socialist system, . . . political consolidation of the countries of the Socialist community in a joint struggle for universal peace and for the complete triumph of communism.

• In the economic field, . . . development of the Socialist international division of labor, increasing coordination of long-range economic plans among the Socialist countries envisioning a maximum saving of social labor and an accelerated development of the world Socialist economy, the promotion of scientific and technical cooperation.

• In the cultural field, steady development of all forms of cultural cooperation and intercourse between the peoples of the Socialist countries, . . . extensive measures to insure the mutual enrichment of national cultures and bring the mode of life and the spiritual cast of the Socialist nations closer together. . . .

7. The Party in the Period of Full-Scale Communist Construction

. . . The Communist Party of the working class has become the vanguard of the Soviet people, a party of the entire people, and extended its guiding influence to all spheres of social life. . . . It looks keenly into the future and shows the people scientifically motivated roads along which to advance, arouses titanic energy in the masses and leads them to the accomplishment of great tasks. . . .

Unlike all the preceding socio-economic formations, Communist society does not develop sporadically, but as a result of conscious and purposeful efforts of the masses led by the Marxist-Leninist party. The Communist Party, which unites the foremost representatives of the working people and is closely connected with the masses, . . . provides proper leadership in Communist construction as a whole, giving it an organized, planned and scientifically based character. . . .

There must be a new, higher stage in the development of the party itself and of its political, ideological and organizational work that is in conformity with the full-scale building of communism. . . .

The cult of the individual and the violations of collectivism in leadership, of inner-party democracy and Socialist legality arising out of it are incompatible with the Leninist principles of party life. . . .

In order to effect the Leninist principle of collective leadership consistently, to insure a greater influx of fresh party forces into the leading party organs, to properly combine old and young cadres, and to rule out the possibility of an excessive concentration of power in the hands of individual officials and prevent cases of their getting beyond the control of the collective, the party considers it necessary to carry out the following measures:

A. To introduce in practice a regular renewal . . . of the members of all elected party bodies—from primary organizations to the Central Committee, thus insuring continuity of leadership.

At all regular elections, not less than ¼ of the members of the Central Committee of the CPSU and its Presidium shall be renewed. Presidium members shall, as a rule, be elected for not more than 3 successive terms. Particular party workers may, by virtue of their . . . abilities, be sucessively elected to the leading bodies for a longer period. In that case, the respective candidate is considered elected, provided not less than ¾ of the votes are cast for him by secret ballot.

Members of the Central Committees of the Communist parties of union republics, of territorial and regional committees shall be renewed by not less than ⅓ at each regular election, and that of area, city and district committees, and the committees and bureaus of primary party organizations shall be renewed by ½. Furthermore, members of the leading party bodies may be elected consecutively for not more than 3 years, and secretaries of the primary party organizations for not more than 2 consecutive terms.

A party organization may, in consideration of the political and professional qualities of a person, elect him to a leading body for a longer period. In that case a candidate is considered elected if not less than ¾ of the Communists attending vote for him. . . .

A decision on removal from the Central Committee of the CPSU and other leading organs shall be adopted solely by secret ballot, and is valid when not less than ⅔ of the total membership of the body concerned vote in favor of the decision.

B. To extend the application of the elective principle and that of accountability in party organizations at all levels, including party organizations working under special conditions (army, navy).

C. To enhance the role of party meetings, conferences, congresses and plenary meetings of party committees and other collective bodies. To provide favorable conditions for a free and business-like discussion within the party of questions concerning its policy and practical activities for comradely discussions of controversial or insufficiently clear matters.

D. To reduce steadily the salaried party staffs, enlisting Communists more extensively as nonsalaried workers doing volunteer work.

E. To develop criticism and self-criticism to the utmost as a tried and tested method of work and a means of disclosing and rectifying errors and shortcomings and the proper education of cadres. . . .

. . . The unshakable ideological and organizational unity of the party is the most important source of its invincibility, a guarantee for the successful solution of the great tasks of Communist construction.

The people are the decisive force in the building of communism. The party exists for the people, and it is in serving the people that it sees the purpose of its activity. To further extend and deepen the ties between the party and the people is an imperative condition of success in the struggle for communism. The party considers it its duty always to consult the working people on the major questions of home and foreign policy, to make these questions an object of nationwide discussion, and to attract the more extensive participation of non-members in all its work. . . .

The CPSU is an integral part of the international Communist and working-class movement. The tried and tested Marxist-Leninist principles of proletarian internationalism will continue to be inviolable principles which the party will follow undeviatingly.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union will continue to strengthen the unity of the international Communist movement, to develop fraternal ties with all the Communist and workers' parties and to coordinate its actions with the efforts of all the contingents of the world Communist movement. . . .

Every new step made toward the bright peaks of communism inspires the working masses in all countries, renders immense moral support to the struggle for the liberation of all peoples from social and national oppression, and brings closer the triumph of Marxism-Leninism on a worldwide scale.

When the Soviet people will enjoy the blessings of communism, new hundreds of millions of people on earth will say: "We are for communism." It is not through war with other countries, but by the example of a more perfect organization of society by rapid progress in developing the productive forces, the creation of all conditions for the happiness and well-being of man, that the ideas of communism win the minds and hearts of the masses. . . .

The party proceeds from the Marxist-Leninist proposition: the people are the maker of history, and communism is a creation of the people, of its energy and intelligence. . . .

. . . The party calls on all Communists, on the entire Soviet people—all working men and women, kolkhoz farmers and workers by brain—to apply their energies to the successful fulfillment of the historic tasks set forth in this program. . . .

The party solemnly proclaims: the present generation of Soviet people shall live under communism.